SIR WILLIAM JONES

AND HIS

TRANSLATION OF

KALIDASA'S SAKUNTALA

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BY

DURGAPRASANNA RAYCHAUDHURI

PH. D. (GOETTINGEN)

WITH A FOREWORD BY

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TO

SJ. KALIMOHAN SAHA

AS A TOKEN OF

MY DEEP GRATITUDE AND SINCERE ESTEEM

FOREWORD.

It is with great pleasure that I write this friendly foreword—not a scholarly introduction for which I am not competent—to the work of Dr. D. P. Raychaudhuri. The early history of the Indo-European family of peoples has been steadily recovered by the patient research of a number of scholars, European, American and Indian during recent decades. The study of Sanskrit language from which the culture of India sprang revealed its relations not only to the Avestan but the European languages of Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Celtic and Slavonic. In its great work of reconstruction, the pioneer was Sir William Jones. 140 years ago he noticed the close relation of Sanskrit to Latin and Greek, thus laying the foundations of all our knowledge about Indo-European peoples since then.

India owes a great deal to the work of this pioneer of Oriental studies in Europe.

He was mainly responsible for the founding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 and he was its first elected President. In the last anniversary discourse he gave before the Society on 20th February 1794, he expressed his surprise that "the whole of the theology of Newton and part of his philosophy may be found in the Vedas and even in the works of the Sufis." While we need not take this observation literally, it certainly brings out the generous enthusiasm and ardent admiration he had for Oriental thought and literature. We have had greater European scholars in more recent times but erudition and scholarship unillumined by sympathetic interpretations and imaginative insight do not carry us far. Many of the views set forth by Sir William Jones have become exploded, though they were remarkable for the time in which they were put forward but the spirit in which he approached the subject can never become out of date.

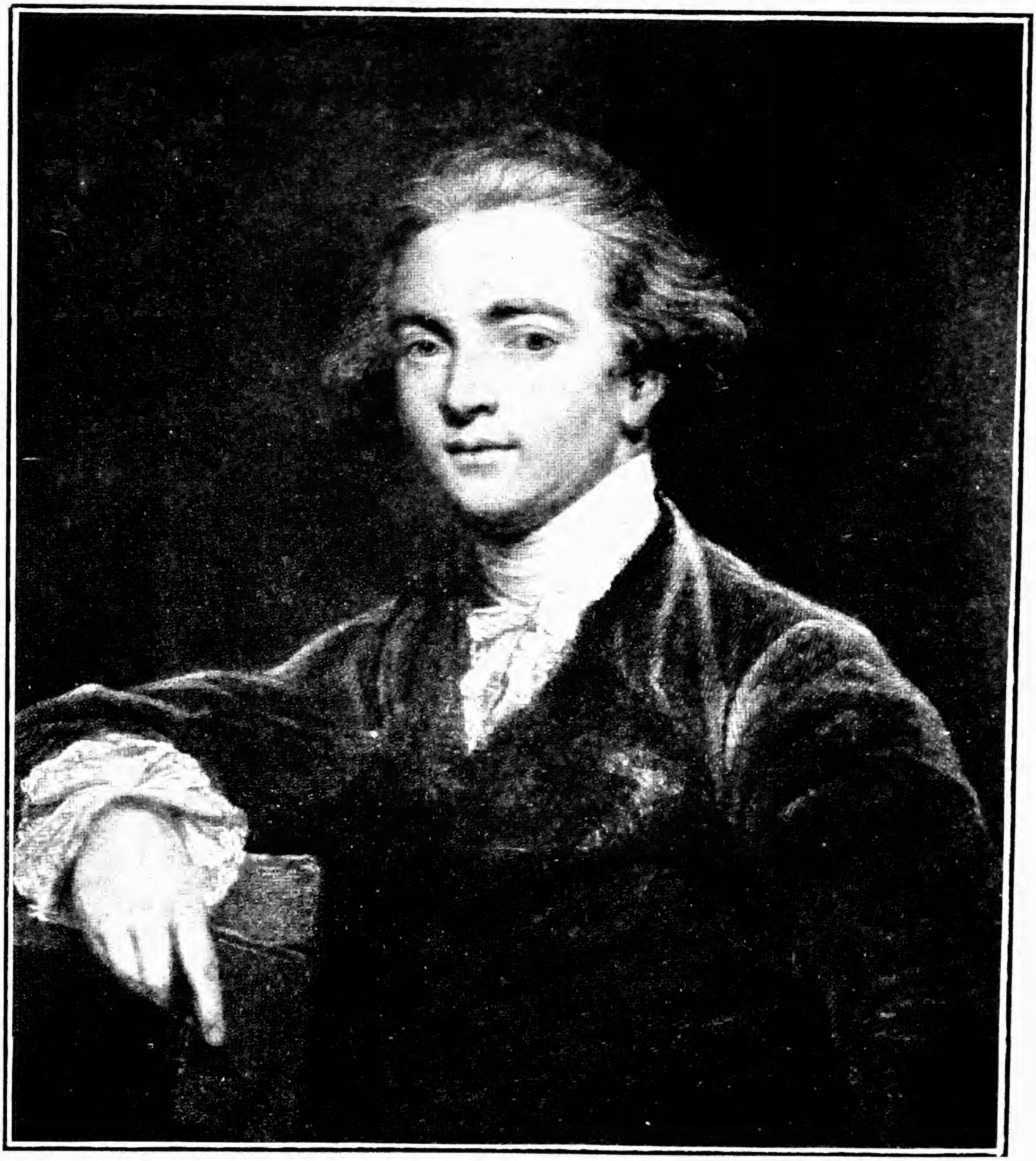
I am glad that Dr. Raychaudhuri has written this life and sketch of Sir William Jones, bringing out specially the versatility of his genius and his historic proficiency. We have in the second part a critical study of his translation of Sakuntala, which evoked great enthusiasm in Europe when it appeared. Students of Sanskrit literature are indebted to Dr. Raychaudhuri for his pleasantly written and scholarly work.

S. Radhakrishnan.

Calcutta, Feb. 15, 1928.

CORRECTIONS.

Page	For	Read
8, 9, 17	Dr. Summer	Dr. Sumner
46, l. 6	and their strange religion	and between their strange religions.
69	चतुर्यगम्	चतुर्यगम्
69	चतुर्ड्श	चतुर्दश



Sir William Jones (1746–94).

SIR WILLIAM JONES

AND HIS

TRANSLATION OF

KALIDASA'S SAKUNTALA.

I.

Sir William Jones was born in London on the eve of the festival of St. Michael in 1746. He was the third child of William Jones and Mary Nix and was baptized by the Christian name of his father. The first child of his parents was a son, who died an infant, and the second child was Mary, who, born in 1736, died a married woman in 1802, on account of her clothes having caught fire.

Lewis Morris, a British antiquary, traces the descent of the Jones family on the mother's side from the ancient princes of Northern Wales. He mentions a rather remarkable name in a collateral branch, namely, William O. Dregaian, who died in 1581, aged 105, and had

36 children by 3 wives and 7 more by two mistresses ; and it is said that some eighty of his issue were living in his lifetime.

The elder William Jones was born in 1680 in the island of Anglesey. His parents were small farmers and gave him such an education as their means allowed. From his childhood he showed a great aptitude for mathematics and repaired by industry the deficiencies of his education. At twenty-two he published a treatise on the art of navigation. In 1702 he was present at the capture of Vigo and in 1706 appeared his "Synopsis palmariorum Matheseos."

He was highly respected in the best English society for his character and manners. When Lord Hardwicke was Chief Justice, he made him Secretary for the Peace. Among others, Sir Isaac Newton, Halley, Dr. Mead and Samuel Johnson were his friends.

He died in 1749, leaving behind him a great fame and a moderate fortune. The charge of the education of his son William, now three years old, fell upon his widow. This lady has been described by her husband, almost with mathematical precision, "virtuous without

blemish, generous without extravagance, frugal but not niggard, cheerful but not giddy, close but not sullen, ingenious but not conceited, of spirit but not passionate, of her company cautious, in her friendship trusty, to her parents dutiful, to her husband ever faithful, loving and obedient." (Vide Memoirs of Sir William Jones by Lord Teignmouth, pp 9-12.) She was pretty well up in algebra, trigonometry and the theory of navigation.

The following anecdote speaks for her self-possession and presence of mind. During the last illness of her husband, the attending physician, Dr. Mead, told her in confidence that the disease could not be cured. Her loving nature would not let her break the news to the patient. But in the meantime came a letter from a friend who, hearing of the doctor's opinion, had not only expressed very deep concern but also tried to comfort him as best he could. And, being desired by her husband to read out the letter, she opened it and knew the purport at a glance ; but with perfect coolness improvised another letter so quickly that her husband had no suspicion of the fact.

Such were the character and the attainments

of the mother who had now to look after the education of William. She was not very strict in discipline and led the mind of her child on to knowledge and to exertion by exciting his curiosity and directing it to useful things. Whenever he would ask for any information, she used to say; "*Read and you will know*". Late in life Jones was often heard to acknowledge with gratitude that he owed all his attainments to a faithful observance of this rule. And as a result of her method of training, he could easily read even at the early age of four any book written in English. He got by heart and used to recite some of the popular speeches in Shakespeare and a few of Gay's fables by way of exercising his memory.

In this year of his life he had a couple of rather nasty accidents. On one occasion his clothes caught fire and his face, neck, and arms were badly burnt, and on another occasion a hook used in fastening his clothes got fixed in his right eye, rendering it defective for good.

At Michaelmas, 1753, he was put in Harrow. And during the first two years of his stay there, he came to be known rather for his diligence

than for his learning. He divided his time between his books and a small garden, which he loved to cultivate in his leisure hours.

The vacation was spent with his mother, who tried to improve his knowledge of English, and also taught him something of drawing which she knew so well.

When he was nine years old, he broke his thigh-bone in a fight with some schoolmates and had to keep away from school for one year. No sooner, however, was the trouble over than he began to read the juvenile poems of Pope and Dryden's translation of the Aeneid, and even tried to compose poems in imitation of his favourite poets. But his progress in classical learning was suddenly stopped.

On his return to school, he was placed in the class which he would have attended if there had been no break in his studies. Naturally, he could not keep pace with the class and insults and corporal punishments were the result. But he never despaired and by industry and cleverness soon made up for the lost time. And not only that. He pretty soon began to carry off the prizes for the best exercises, and studied beyond the prescribed limits, and even composed verses

after Ovid, which was never expected in the lower forms of Harrow.

At about twelve years of age, he began to learn Greek and soon turned into English verse some of the Epistles of Ovid and all the pastorals of Virgil. He also made into a tragedy the story of Meleager, which his schoolmates put on the stage during the vacation, and in which he played the part of the hero.* He was so well-known for his learning and composition that frequently boys in the upper forms got their

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* Meleager, in Greek mythology, was the king of Calydon. The fates had ordained that he should live only so long as would last the log that was burning in the hearth at the time of his birth. So his mother extinguished the flames forthwith and hid the piece of wood in a box. In course of time the boy distinguished himself by his heroism. He took part in the expedition of the Argonauts and killed the wild boar of Calydon. Later a quarrel arose between him and his uncles about the disposal of the animal's head and it ended by his striking them mortally. Exasperated at the death of her brothers, his mother put into the fire the fatal log and Meleager died in no time. His sisters began to lament his death bitterly and were afterwards changed into guinea-fowls by Diana, who had taken pity on them.

exercises written out by him, while boys of his own class were happy to become his pupils. During the vacation he started work on French and arithmetic.

An interesting story is on record, which shews the turn of his mind even as a schoolboy. He wrote a political play in collaboration with Dr. William Bennet, later Bishop of Cloyne, and Dr. Parr, afterwards the famous Greek scholar. They divided the neighbourhood of Harrow into states and kingdoms according to a map of Greece, and each assumed an ancient name and settled in one of them. Some of the students, who were called barbarians, attacked their hillocks, which they called forts. Jones was always the leader and held councils, made political speeches, and wrote memorials.

When Jones was fifteen, Dr. Thackeray, the Headmaster of Harrow, retired. He said of Jones that if he were left naked and helpless on Salisbury plain, he would nevertheless find his way to fame and fortune.

In the course of the next two years, besides Latin and Greek composition, he learnt the Arabic characters and also sufficient Hebrew to be able to read the Psalms in the original. Some-

times he used to work throughout the whole night, taking tea or coffee to keep himself awake. Dr. Summer, who succeeded Dr. Thackeray as Headmaster, was so pleased with his progress that he was heard to say, probably with excusable partiality, that Jones knew more Greek than himself and was a greater master of Greek idioms.

During the last months of his stay at Harrow, he did not require to attend school ; yet he worked so hard that his eye-sight was impaired and Dr. Summer had to interfere. It was at that time that he learnt the game of chess.

He spent the vacation improving his knowledge of French and arithmetic, to which he now added Italian also. His mother supplied him liberally with money so that he might buy the necessary books. His juvenile compositions, both prose and verse, were printed in the fragment of a work, called *Limon*, in imitation of Cicero (Works vol. II p. 627).

At seventeen, Jones left Harrow. Some difficulty was now felt about choosing between the law and the university. The law certainly promised a great success for a man of Jones's talents and industry, and his father's friends

strongly recommended it. But it could not be practised without a big initial outlay, and this consideration weighed with his mother. Jones himself took a dislike to law on the ground that the old English law books were written in bad Latin, and he did not like to leave his Demosthenes and his Cicero on any account. Besides, Dr. Summer insisted that he should spend some years at the university. So he went to Oxford with his mother, who also decided to live with him. But he was long remembered in Harrow, and Dr. Summer often mentioned him as the pride of his school and as a fit object for imitation.

Of his English poems composed at Harrow, one was afterwards revised and published under the title of *Arcadia* (Works vol. IV p. 477). It is a critique on the different styles of pastoral compositions. The hint for the poem was taken from an allegory of Addison in the thirty-second paper of the *Guardian*. Menalcas, king of the shepherds, stands for Theocritus, "the most ancient, and perhaps the best, writer of pastorals" ; and his two daughters, Daphne and Hyla, represent the two kinds of pastoral poetry. Daphne, elegant and polished, favouredV irgil ;

whilst Hyla, simple and rather plain, favoured Spenser. These two poets, therefore, are supposed in the allegory to have inherited the Kingdom of Arcadia.

Jones was matriculated at Oxford on the 15th of March, 1764, as a commoner of the University College, but he was not very happy there in the beginning. He did not derive much benefit from the public lectures. The only logic then taught at Oxford was that of the Schools, and Jones says that one of the Fellows, while reading Locke with his pupils, omitted every passage where Locke had opposed the old system.

But eventually he came to like Oxford better. The university offered him every facility for pursuing his career of learning. He did not require to attend lectures, but studied all the Greek poets and famous historians and the complete works of Plato and Lucian. He used to read always with a pen in hand, and to make notes and compose in imitation of his favourite authors. In October, 1764, he was elected a scholar to the foundation of Sir Simon Bennet.

Encouraged by a fellow-student who had

some knowledge of Arabic and offered to lend him his books, Jones took to Arabic now. He met by chance in London a Syrian Mirza and brought him to Oxford, where he kept him at his own expense and learnt from him the correct Arabic pronunciation.

While studying Arabic he discovered a close similarity between it and modern Persian, and soon began to learn the latter also. He read the Gulistan of Sadi, assisted by a translation and a grammar.

He spent the holidays in London where he practised riding and fencing daily. He was a great advocate of physical exercise. At this time his chief studies were the modern languages, and he read the best authors of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese. He strictly followed the plan of education recommended by Milton,* and used to say that with the fortune of a peasant, he had given himself the education of a prince.

At nineteen, he became private tutor to Lord Althorpe, afterwards the second Earl of Spencer. He was rather sorry to have got to take up a

* For the tract on "Education" by Milton, see the prose works of the poet, London, 1848, Vol. III pp. 462-78.

job like this, but unfortunately there was no alternative, as the purse of his mother was not long enough to maintain him at college without its being supplemented somehow. Be that as it may, Jones was recommended to this family by Dr. Shipley who, although he did not know him personally, had seen and approved his compositions at Harrow, particularly a Greek oration in praise of Lyon, the honest yeoman who had founded the famous school there in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. And this connection with the Spencer family proved of the greatest advantage to Jones. He went abroad more than once with them and maintained his friendship with his former pupil and his sister, the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire, until his death. It was in the summer of 1765 that he took charge of Lord Althorpe, then only seven, at Wimbledon Park ; and in August of the following year he was elected a Fellow to the foundation of Sir Simon Bennet at Oxford.

About this time, the Duke of Grafton, then at the head of the Treasury, offered him the post of interpreter of the eastern languages. But he declined the offer in favour of his Syrian friend, the Mirza, who, however, was not

appointed. So Jones was sorry that he had not accepted the post in order that he might give the emoluments to the Syrian.

Although he took part in the evening entertainments at Althorpe, he found his chief delight in the excellent library there. Scarcely a single book escaped his notice ; and it was here that, in the twenty-first year of his age, he began his *Commentaries* on Asiatic poetry, in imitation of Dr. Louth's Prelections at Oxford, on the sacred poetry of the Hebrews.

In the summer of 1767, he was at Spa with Lord Spencer and his family. Here he took lessons in dancing with Janson of Aix-la-Chapelle and began to learn the German language. The winter he spent at Althorpe chiefly in literary pursuits, where he nearly finished his *Commentaries*, transcribed an Arabic manuscript on Egypt and the Nile, and copied the keys to the Chinese language, which he wished to learn later on.

In the same year he happened to read from curiosity Fortescue's treatise on the laws of England and was struck by the superiority of the English laws to those of other ancient or modern states. He was surprised that it had

never occurred to him before. And possibly this circumstance might have influenced him in his choice of the legal profession afterwards.

In 1768, King Christian VII of Denmark paid a visit to England, and wanted to get a Persian manuscript, containing the life of Nadir Shah, translated into French. Jones was requested to do the job but he declined as he had so many other things to do. But when Major Dow, the translator of the Persian history, also declined and none else could be found, the request was renewed with the remark that in case Jones declined again, the manuscript would be sent to France. Love of fame and patriotic pride then prompted Jones to undertake this "disagreeable task", as he called it. It was finished in one year and appeared in print in 1770. He was made a member of the Royal Society of Copenhagen. To the history of Nadir Shah, he appended an essay on Oriental poetry in French. He alone in England could at that time produce a work which required a critical knowledge of two foreign languages, one of which was scarcely known in Europe. He was twenty-three at the time.

In 1768, Jones became known to Charles

Reviczki, afterwards Imperial Minister at Warsaw and ambassador to the Court of England. This gentleman was a great Oriental scholar and they carried on between them a long and learned correspondence relating chiefly to Persian and Arabic poetry, which was afterwards published in part by Jones's biographer.

On hearing that Jones was thinking of publishing a treatise on Oriental prosody, Reviczki congratulated him on his taste, and added that he anticipated with pleasure the mortification of European poets, when they would see how prosaic and poor their languages were in point of metre and prosody as compared with Oriental tongues.

Reviczki having complained of the "sickening tumult" of parliamentary elections in London, Jones assures him that the original form of the British constitution was almost divine. Neither Rome nor Greece had one superior to it, nor could Plato or Aristotle conceive a more perfect one. The three parts composing it were more harmonious than the flute of Aristoxenus or the lyre of Timotheus. Such was the beautiful constitution of England in the past, and would have been so again but for the folly of some

people. "When I reflect on our constitution", continues Jones, "I seem, as it were, to contemplate a game at chess, a recreation in which we both delight. For we have a king, whose dignity we strenuously defend, but whose power is very limited ; the knights and rooks, and other pieces, have some kind of resemblance to the orders of of nobility, who are employed in war and in the management of public affairs ; but the principal strength is in the pawns or people ; if these are firmly united, they are sure of victory ; but if divided and separated, the battle is lost. The motions of all, as in the game of chess, are regulated by fixed laws." (Memoirs pp. 59-60). He then compares himself to a spectator watching the game for his pleasure, and says if it ever should be his lot to have a hand in the administration, he would not care for money or fame, but would try his utmost to keep intact the beautiful constitution of England.

In the spring of 1769, when Jones was at Wimbledon, he read Robertson's Life of Charles V and gave his "favourite Petrarch a second reading", and turned into the form of an elegy his lamentations over Laura (Works vol. IV p. 459). In the summer of the same year,

he went to live with his pupil at Harrow and was happy to be back in the society of Dr. Summer. It was here and now that he transcribed a Persian grammar which he had composed about three years ago.

As a young man, Jones was not a firm believer in Christianity. While reading Bishop Beveridge's "Private Thoughts on Religion", he was struck by the remark that one should not profess Christianity merely because one's countrymen professed it, without an inquiry and a conviction. This led him to investigate the grounds on which the Bible had so long been received as the word of God. Friends and clergymen could not solve his doubts ; and so he resolved to read the scriptures in the original and to form his own opinion.

What the immediate results of these studies were, we know not. Lord Teignmouth has found in a Hebrew copy of the book of Hosea a series of propositions in Jones's handwriting. They seem to have solved his religious doubts and to have convinced him of the divine authority of Christianity.

During the holidays in the autumn of 1769, he paid a visit to his friends at Oxford, and

from there they made an excursion to Forest Hill, of which Milton describes the beauties in the following fine passage of L'Allegro :

Sometime walking not unseen
By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green.

*   *   *   *

While the ploughman, near at hand,
Whistles o'er the furrow'd land,
And the milkmaid singeth blithe,
And the mower whets his scythe,
And every shepherd tells his tale,
Under the hawthorn in the dale.
Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures
Whilst the landscape round it measures ;
Russet lawns, and fallows grey,
Where the nibbling flocks do stray ;
Mountains, on whose barren breast
The lab'ring clouds do often rest ;
Meadows trim with daisies pied,
Shallow brooks, and rivers wide.
Towers and battlements it sees
Bosom'd high in tufted trees.

*   *   *   *

Hard by, a cottage chimney smokes
From betwixt two aged oaks. etc.

In an animated letter to Lady Spencer, he relates his experiences and feelings on that occasion, and adds that although it was neither the season of the year nor the hour of the day to see and hear all that Milton had depicted, still it so happened that they saw the ploughman, the mower, and the milkmaid at their work. They ascended the hill and reached the spot from where Milton must have taken his images, and he was convinced that there was not one useless or idle word in Milton's description. The groves near the village were famous for nightingales, so beautifully described in Il Penseroso. Jones wished to hire and retain the house occupied by Milton at Forest Hill, if he should get the time and the opportunity, and to make a festival in honour of "the most perfect scholar and the sublimest poet" of England; which, he thought, would be "more sincere, if less splendid, than all the pomp and ceremony on the banks of the Avon."

Towards the end of 1769, Jones was on the continent with Lord Spencer's family. He describes Nice as a place

"Where spring in all her charms perpetual reigns,
And banish'd winter flies the blooming plains."

Here his chief occupations were music, mathematics, poetry and painting. He also studied the military science which, he remarked, it would be the greatest disgrace for an English gentleman not to know. Here he wrote a tract on *Education* in the analytical method of Aristotle, and began a tragedy, called *Soliman*, after the name of the Emperor, whose son Mustapha, "the mirror of courtesie, and rare hope of the Turkish nation," perished by the treachery of a step-mother.

But in four weeks' time he got tired of Nice, and from his windows, which were scarcely thirty paces from the sea,

"Tired, on the uniform expanse I gaze."

He had no other occupation, said he, than to count the waves with Cicero, or to measure the sands with Archimedes. He was disgusted with the hateful rattle of French gaiety, and the calm serenity of the Italian sky had something gloomy about it. He longed to be back in Oxford.

In 1770, he travelled all the way from Paris to Geneva in the hope of seeing Voltaire, but was disappointed. He sent in a note with a few verses,

saying that the muse of tragedy had left her ancient seat in Greece and Italy, and had fixed her abode on the borders of a lake. Voltaire returned the answer that the worst of French poets and philosophers was almost dying ; that age and sickness had done their work ; and that he could not see anybody and begged Jones to excuse and pity him. Jones thought that Voltaire was not really so ill as he imagined. He had been walking in his courtyard but went indoors as soon as he saw Jones entering. The servants showed him somebody at a window, who, they said, was Voltaire, but he had scarcely a glimpse of him. Jones believed that Voltaire had begun to be serious, because he found himself on the brink of eternity ; and refused to see people, because he had lost his former wit and sprightliness.

Jones was a lover of universal literature and was never tired in his pursuit of it. He had read the works of Confucius in Couplet's translation, and in 1770 chanced upon a copy of an old Chinese book, called Shi-king, in the Royal Library of Paris, from which in particular Confucius was said to have quoted the verses that adorned his discourses. Jones had already learnt the keys to the Chinese language

and now set out to examine the original. After a long study he succeeded in comparing one of the odes with the version of Couplet, and sent a literal translation of it (Works Vol. II p. 351) to Reviczki, with the following remarks : "You know that this philosopher, whom I may venture to call the Plato of China, lived about 600 years before the Christian era, and he quotes this ode as very ancient in his time. It may therefore be considered as a precious gem of antiquity, which proves that poetry has been the admiration of all peoples in all ages, and that it everywhere adopts the same images" (Memoirs p. 81).

Of the treatise on *Education* mentioned above, only the plan has been recovered. In the culture of his own mind, Jones is said to have pursued the same objects, and precisely by the same methods, that he recommends to others.

According to an eastern philosopher, true education consists in improving the mind, in reforming one's countrymen, and in procuring a fixed habit of virtue. Jones takes this dictum of "the sublime author" as his subject for a series of essays. But as life is short and knowledge cannot be obtained, nor can the mind be

fully developed, unless one can add to the results of one's own efforts the wisdom and experiences of all ages, so it is necessary to know the languages of those peoples that have been some time or other great. We must at the same time teach other nations what we have achieved, in a language that they can understand. The immediate object of education, therefore, is to learn the languages of great nations, both ancient and modern. And the best way of doing this is to master one's own language first.

So analysed, the subject divides itself into several distinct heads, *e. g.*, language, the understanding, knowledge, good of mankind, and personal good or private happiness.

But as the mind must have intervals of relaxation, poetry, painting, and music would supply a state between labour and rest ; and sports, swimming, and riding would add strength and grace to the body. So Jones proposed to add two more discourses on polite arts and exercise to his tract on *Education*.

From Jones's correspondence, it appears that the tragedy of *Soliman* was actually finished. But only the preface has been discovered. He points out in it how Dryden composed his

tragedies in rhyme, and tried to create a taste for it by telling the public in advance that every tragedy should be composed in rhyme ; and also how La Motte wilfully violated the dramatic unities, while Corneille preserved them almost to affectation. Jones condemns such practice on both sides and resolves to steer a middle course by taking Shakespeare for his model.

In 1770, Jones resigned his charge in Lord Spencer's family and was admitted to the Middle Temple, because, as he himself said, the only road to the highest station in his country lay through the law ; and he was very ambitious and laborious. But he was not going to give up polite literature. He meant to publish his English poems shortly and to stage his tragedy of *Soliman*, and was also thinking of composing an epic poem, called *Britanneis*, when he should have sufficient time. In the meantime, he amused himself with the Persian poets. His translation of the odes of Hafej in French metrical verse was published in 1770 (Works Vol. V p. 484). He had also a copper-plate engraving made of an ode of Hafej and was waiting for leisure to publish his *Commentaries* on Asiatic poetry. What Jones valued above

everything else was glory, and he was determined to pursue it through fire and water, by day and by night. And Jones thought that even if he had two lives, he would still hardly find time to finish all the projects he had in mind.

In the summer of 1771, we find him at Oxford, contemplating "the stately edifice of the laws of England,"—"the gathered wisdom of a thousand years". About the same time he brought out his Persian grammar. As early as 1771, Reviczki observed that if Jones persevered in cultivating Oriental literature, as he had begun, the republic of letters would be greatly obliged to him. This prophecy has more than come true.

In 1771, Mons. Anquetil du Perron published an account of his travels in India, where he had been from 1755 to 1761, together with the life of Zoroaster and some of his works under the general title of Zend-Avesta. He made some reflections on the University of Oxford, to which Jones replied in what he called "a little Philippic". It was published anonymously. The style was so correct and fine that even some Frenchmen suspected that it must have been written by some *bel esprit de Paris* (Works Vol. IV p. 583).

His English version of the second ode of Hafej appeared in 1771 and was well received. But he was now anxiously waiting for the conclusion of peace with Russia to apply for the embassy at Constantinople. The King and the men in power were well disposed towards him, but still he feared some powerful competitor. He wanted "to explore the Turkish manners in their hidden sources and to drink deep of Asiatic literature". If he should be disappointed, he meant to apply himself to poetry, philosophy and history, any one of which could occupy the whole life of

"Such men as live in these degenerate days".

In 1772 appeared his small volume of poems, consisting chiefly of translations from Asiatic languages (Works Vol. IV p. 399). Though ready much earlier, the publication was deferred with a view to revision and improvement. The first poem in the volume, called *Solima*, is not a regular translation from the Arabic ; but most of the figures, sentiments and descriptions are taken from Arabic poems on benevolence and hospitality, and woven together to form one organic whole in praise of an Arabic princess for her

munificence. The hint for the second poem, *The Palace of Fortune*, was supplied by an Indian tale translated from the Persian. But Jones added descriptions and episodes from other eastern writers and gave a different moral to the whole piece. The general subject of the third poem, *The Seven Fountains*, was taken from a Syrian author of the fifteenth century, but a story of the Arabian Nights was grafted upon it. Then follow a song of Hafej and an ode and also an elegy from Petrarch. This affords the reader an opportunity to compare the manner of the Asiatic poets with that of the Italians. Some of the Persian songs have a striking resemblance to the sonnets of Petrarch, and even the form of those little amatory poems was, Jones believes, brought into Europe by the Arabs. Much sensation was created by this volume. Its immediate influence was seen in John Scott's *Oriental Eclogues*, 1782, and Shelley probably took the subject of his *Queen Mab* from Jones's *Palace of Fortune* (see below).

The plan of the epic poem, *Britanneis*, of which Jones speaks in his letters, was sketched at Spa in 1770. It was to be based on the tradition that the Phoenicians had discovered Britain. The

rest was to be bodied forth from imagination. In the Prince of Tyre, Jones proposed to depict a perfect king of England, showing the vices he should avoid and the virtues he should possess. He took the hint from Spenser's letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, where he spoke of the twelve private and the twelve public virtues of Prince Arthur. Later his acquaitance with the Hindu mythology suggested the introduction of Hindu deities. He waited for time to finish the poem, which, however, he never got. The sketch and the few lines that he actually composed are printed in Appendix A of the Memoirs.

In 1772, Jones was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in the following year he took his master's degree ; while in 1774 appeared his *Commentaries* on Asiatic poetry, which was warmly received in England and on the continent. He had begun the work in 1766 and finished it by 1769, but it was never his way to publish anything in a hurry. On reading the MS., Dr. Parr remarked that he would be looking forward with pleasure to seeing the great honour such a publication was bound to do his country. This treatise "definitely confirmed Jones's authority as an oriental scholar".

He dedicated the volume to the University of Oxford which, he said, "would be the most illustrious of all universities as long as she remained the most free."

H. A. Schultens, afterwards professor of Oriental languages at Leyden, regretted that Jones should have preferred the law to literature, knowing, as he did, that the Muses had so few votaries. In reply Jones said that if he had lived at Rome or at Athens, he would have preferred the risky life of the politician to the grove of the poet or the garden of the philosopher. England's constitution was not inferior to that of Greece or of Rome. Polite literature had its charms, but one could only philosophize with the few; and life was short, art long and the time fleeting. Who could deny that mathematics was a delightful science, when he remembered Archimedes! But Jones would rather resemble Cicero, both in the course of his life and in his studies, than be like Varro or Lucretius. "To tell you my mind," he concludes, "I am not of a disposition to bear the arrogance of men of rank, to which poets and men of letters are so often obliged to submit."

Jones highly appreciated the honour done him by Prince Gabriel of Spain, who presented him with a copy of the Roman History of Sallust, which he had translated into Spanish. Hitherto this honour had been done only to kings and universities. Jones returned the compliment by advising the prince to study "the divine works of Cicero."

Jones strongly believed that an Englishman's real importance in his country depended on his possessing virtue, knowledge and eloquence in a well-balanced proportion, none of these singly being of any great value. Accordingly, he advised Lord Althorpe to cultivate the habit of eloquence, which, in Jones's opinion, any keen and intelligent man could acquire by practice, just as any healthy person could learn the art of swimming or skating.

His political views were very pronounced. He was suspicious of power in whatever hands it might be placed. He was jealous of the powers of the king, and was for keeping them within proper bounds ; but he did not on that account tolerate any oligarchy. In his opinion, all power should belong to the people, and those who were entrusted with the work of governance

ought to be accountable to the people. "My party is that of the people and my principles which the law taught me are only to be changed by a change of existence."

He held that in the American War England was in the wrong, and this opinion steadily gained on him as the contest got prolonged. He expressed his feelings in an ode, called *Ad libertatem Carmen* printed in 1780 (Works Vol. IV p. 577). He was also a great enemy of the slave trade and openly maintained that freedom was one of those eternal and elementary rights of a human being which no law on earth could justly take away from him.

Although his thoughts were occupied by so many things, he was not neglecting his legal studies, which embraced not only the technicalities but also the whole science and philosophy of law. And although he never became a learned English lawyer in the technical sense of the term, yet he eventually proved himself to be a profound jurist. In 1776 he was appointed a commissioner in bankruptcy and in 1778 appeared his translatlon of the "Speeches of Isaeus, in Causes concerning the Law of Succession to Property

at Athens." (Works Vol. IV p. 1.) Isaeus's works were falling into disuse owing to the stiffness of the subject and the difficulties of the style, and only a classical scholar with legal knowledge could rescue them from the depths of oblivion. Burke spoke with much appreciation of this performance.

In 1780, the parliamentary seat for the University of Oxford fell vacant and Jones offered himself as a candidate for it. It was his highest ambition in life to represent this constituency. But just one day before the election, he withdrew from the contest. It has been said that he did not like to give his non-resident voters the trouble of taking long journeys, as his inquiries did not lead him to expect success. It was generally believed that Jones lost the election on account of his attitude towards the American War and the slave trade. But Jones openly said that if his chances in the game of election at Oxford should ever depend upon a change of his political principles, then his cause must be hopeless indeed !

The Gordon riots of June, 1780, led him to publish a pamphlet, called "An Enquiry into the legal Mode of suppressing Riot with a

constitutional Plan for future Defence." This publication was prompted by the unfortunate necessity of calling in the military to suppress the riots which were desolating London from June 2 to June 8 of that year. His object was to prove that the common laws of the land were adequate enough to deal with any riot or insurrection without the aid of the military or even without the modern Riot Act. The principles enunciated here were later taken advantage of by the Government with profit to all concerned (Works Vol. VI p. 685).

In a memorandum dated 1780, Jones proposes "to learn no more rudiments of any kind", but to perfect himself in the twelve languages* that he already knew, in order to acquire an accurate knowledge of history, the arts and sciences (Memoirs p. 192).

He was a leading member of the Turk's Head Club, housed in Gerrard Street, Soho, which was originally founded by Burke and Dr. Johnson at the instance of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

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* The twelve languages are: Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, German and English.

The first members of the club were the friends of these three. But their number was gradually increased to forty, including men of the most distinguished character, eminent for their learning and culture. And it used to be said of the members of this club that there was no branch of human knowledge to which someone or other of them could not possibly make useful contribution.

In the winter of 1780-81, he completed his English translation of the *Moāllakāt* or the seven ancient poems of Arabia, which, however, was not published until 1783 (Works Vol. IV. p. 243). These poems, transcribed with notes, are to be found among Pocock's MSS. at Oxford. In the "Essay on the Poetry of Eastern Nations," Jones gives the following short history of these poems (Works Vol. IV pp. 535-536). "At the beginning of the seventh century the Arabick language was brought to a high degree of perfection by a sort of poetical academy, that used to assemble at stated times, in a place called Ocadh, where every poet produced his best composition and was sure to meet with the applause that it deserved; the most excellent of these poems were transcribed in characters of gold

upon Egyptian paper and hung up in the temple (of Mecca), whence they were named *Modhahebat* or Golden, and *Moāllakāt* or Suspended: the poems of this sort were called Casseidas or eclogues, seven of which are preserved in our libraries, and are considered as the finest that were written before the time of Mahomet. The fourth of them, composed by Lebeid, is purely pastoral, and extremely like the Alexis of Virgil, but far more beautiful, because it is more agreeable to nature." He then attempts a metrical imitation of verses 57-61 of the poem of Lebeid.

But oh! thou know'st not in what youthful play
Our nights, beguiled with pleasure, swam away,
Gay songs, and cheerful tales, deceived the time,
And circling goblets made a tuneful chime;
Sweet was the draught, and sweet the blooming maid,
Who touched her lyre beneath the fragrant shade;
We sipp'd till morning purpled every plain;
The damsels slumber'd, but we sipp'd again;
The waking birds, that sung on every tree
Their early notes, were not so blithe as we.

It should not, however, be omitted here that this interesting history of the seven ancient poems of Arabia as quoted from Jones above has been found untenable in the light of later investigations. The oldest passage known where it is stated that these poems were hung up by the Arabs on or in the Kaba (a sacred square edifice) at Mecca is found in a Spanish-Arab writer, named Ibn Abd-Rabbihi (A. D. 860-940). But his statement is entirely uncorroborated by contemporary or later authorities. If the poems had been removed from the temple on the capture of Mecca by Mahomet, as seems to be maintained by some people, then the histories of the Prophet, which are so circumstantial and elaborate, would have been likely to mention such an interesting incident. Nor is there any authentic report of a guild or other regular institutions for the encouragement of poetry so early in the history of Arabia, when writing was chiefly resorted to for epistolary purposes. The fact seems to be that the selection of these seven poems was not the work of the ancient Arabs at all. They were preserved by oral tradition for a century or more before being committed to writing, as has been the case with

so many ancient poems in other countries also. And this explains the mutilated condition in which they have come down to us. It is now supposed that Hammād ar-Rāwiya (Hammād the Rhapsodist), who lived in the first three-quarters of the eighth century, made the selection. He is probably also responsible for the somewhat fantastic title of *Moāllakāt* (lit. "the suspended)," which means "raised, on account of their value, to a specially honourable position." Nor were these poems actually written in gold. The name of *Modhahebat* (lit. "the gilded") is only a figurative expression for excellence.

The seven poems all go by the names of their authors, *e. g.*, Amriokais, Tarafa, Zohair, Lebeid, Antara, Amru and Hareth. Except the last two which describe the heroic exploits, personal as well as tribal, of the two poets, the other five are amatory poems of the pastoral kind. The poets invariably begin by lamenting the death or desertion of their beloved, but soon reconcile themselves to their lot. They then feast themselves on the memories of their past happiness, speak of their own fortitude, praise the beauty and the virtues of their camels, and pride themselves on the glorious

achievements of their race. We have here a glimpse of the peculiar conditions of the life of the Bedouins.

The lives of the seven poets roughly covered a space of a little more than a hundred years. The earliest of the seven was Amriokais, regarded by many as the most illustrious of the Arabian poets. "Probably the best part of his career fell within the midst of the sixth century."

Lebeid is the only one of these poets who embraced Islam. But his contribution to this group of the seven poems belongs to the pagan period of his life. He lived to a good old age and is supposed to have died about 661 or even later. (Vide the article on "Moāllakāt" in the Encyclo.Brit. by Th. Noeldeke).

Jones remarks : "They (these poems) exhibit an exact picture of the virtues and vices of the Arabs in the age of the seven poets, their wisdom and their folly, and shew what may be constantly expected from men of open hearts and boiling passions, with no law to control and little religion to restrain them." (Works Vol. I p. 43).

In a pindaric ode, called the *Muse Recalled,*

he celebrated the marriage of his pupil, Lord Althorpe, in March, 1781 (Works Vol. IV p. 563). He also wrote a short ode to *Liberty* in the same year (Works Vol. IV p. 571) which was called forth by "this most abominable war," as he characterized England's part in the American War of Independence. These were, however, only literary pastimes. The results of his professional studies were embodied in the *Essay on the Law of Bailments*, which was highly appreciated in England, and still more so in America, where Justice Story declared that had Jones never written anything else except this Essay, he would still have left a name "unrivalled in the common law for philosophical accuracy, elegant learning and finished analysis."

His next legal work was the translation of an Arabic poem on the Mahomedan law of succession to the property of the intestates. He did this work in expectation of the vacant judgeship in Bengal, as a knowledge of the Mahomedan law was essential to the discharge of the duties of that high office. (Works Vol. III p. 467).

The constitutional agitation for parliamentary reforms in England in 1782 inspired the spirited

ode in imitation of Callistratus, which appeared in several periodicals of the time (Works Vol. IV p. 573), and of which the concluding lines are :

> "Rise, Britannia, dauntless rise !
> Cheer'd with triple Harmony,
> Monarch good, and Nobles wise,
> People valiant, firm, and Free."

In March, 1783, Jones was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of Bengal and was knighted. He had long looked forward to this appointment which promised him means to marry and a comfortable income, besides the opportunity of prosecuting his Oriental studies in India itself. But his avowed hostility to the American War delayed the realization of his cherished hope. Lord North was naturally reluctant to give Jones preferment. In 1783, however, the strong representations of Lord Ashburton induced the coalition ministry of the Duke of Portland to offer him the prized judgeship. In April following, he married Anna Maria, the eldest daughter of Dr. Shipley, bishop of St. Ashap, to whom he had long been engaged. And in September

of the same year he landed in Calcutta, taking his seat on the bench in December following. A little later he published an interesting description of the island of Hinzuan or Joanna, which he had visited in the course of his voyage to India. (Works Vol. I p. 485).

Jones soon discovered that the field of research in India was so large that no one person, however industrious, could possibly do justice to it. He therefore communicated with a number of gentlemen here about the desirability of starting a society for the purpose. And the result was the birth of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 15th of January, 1784. It was resolved to follow as nearly as possible the plan of the Royal Society in London, of which the King was the patron. Warren Hastings was, therefore, requested to accept the presidentship of the Society. He was the Governor-General of the English possessions in India at the time. He was also an Oriental scholar of high repute and a great patron of Persian and Sanscrit literatures. But he declined the offer in favour of the "gentleman, whose genius had planned the institution, and was most capable of conducting it." Accordingly,

Jones was unanimously elected its first president, —a post which he held until his death in 1794. He was not only the founder of the Society but also its chief strength. The objects of this new institution were stated to be "to enquire into the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia."

Among the original members of the Society may be mentioned William Chambers, Francis Gladwyn, Captain Charles Hamilton, great Persian or Arabic scholars all, and Charles Wilkins, the first Sanscrit scholar among Englishmen, who not only established a printing press for Oriental languages but also took a large personal share in the practical work of preparing the type of Devanagri, Persian and Bengali characters.

The first mention of Sanscrit in the printed correspondence of Jones is found in a letter of May 14, 1784, where he writes of having read with great interest a Persian translation of a Sanscrit book, "Siry Bha'gwat", which deals with the Hindu religion and the doings of "Crishen". (Memoirs p. 244)

It looks as if he had already made up his mind to learn Sanscrit, and he was led to this decision as much by a love of knowledge as by a desire to

be able to discharge the duties of his office better. It was the practice in India at the time to attach to judges interpreters of Hindu and Mahomedan laws in civil suits over property and inheritance. But as a lawyer Jones knew the value of original documents, and so we find him writing as far back as September, 1785, from Krishnagar in Bengal : "I am proceeding slowly but surely in this retired place in the study of Sanscrit ; for I can no longer bear to be at the mercy of our *pandits* (i. e. interpreters of law), who deal out Hindu law as they please" (Memoirs p. 264). Jones certainly could never forget that the scholars in Europe expected much from him ; and he did not, therefore, like the idea of supplying second-hand information upon subjects which interested the learned world, when he had means of access to the original sources. In the same letter he adds : "I would rather be a valetudinarian all my life than leave unexplored the Sanscrit mine which I have just opened". And there was a touch of national pride in this resolution, as will be evidenced by the closing words of his essay "On the Literature of the Hindus" which run thus : "Since Europeans are indebted to the Dutch for almost all

they know of Arabick, and to the French for all they know of Chinese, let them now receive from our nation the first accurate knowledge of Sanscrit, and of the valuable works composed in it ; but, if they wish to form a correct idea of Indian religion and literature, let them begin with forgetting all that has been written on the subject, by ancients or moderns, before the publication of the Gita". (Works Vol. I p. 363). Jones means here Wilkins's translation of "the Bhagavat-Geeta or dialogues of Kreeshna and Arjoon", London, 1785.

In the winter of 1784-85, Jones travelled extensively in Northern India and visited, among other places, Benares and the relics of Buddha at Gaya. At Benares, he met the famous professors of Hindu religion, but regretted that he could not yet talk with them freely in Sanscrit without the help of an interpreter. In the course of these travels, he composed a little tale in verse, called *The Enchanted Fruit or Hindu Wife* (Works Vol. VI p. 177), of which the subject-matter was furnished by a legend of somewhat doubtful origin still current among certain classes of the people. One day the Pandavas with Draupadi arrived in the course of their ramblings

in a solitary garden, where a fruit was hanging high up from a branch, "full sixty cubits from the root." Arjuna rashly shot an arrow at it and the fruit dropped down. That very instant Krishna descended "from Swerga's height" and said that the garden belonged to "a pious Muny" who might curse them for this act of spoliation. The Pandavas naturally got very nervous. In their utter perplexity, however, Krishna suggested a way out. He said that the fruit would go back to its stem in the branch, if only they should all reveal their crimes, committed "in actions, words, even in thoughts." They agreed. And by the time the five brothers had finished their statements, the fruit was fifty cubits high. Now it was Draupadi's turn to speak. She said that she was a vain woman, fond of pageantry. The fruit flew up only "twice four cubits" and would go no higher. At last when she came out with the confession that one day a holy Brahmin had "only kissed her cheek,"

"Strait its full height the wonder rose,
Glad with its native branch to close."

The essay *On the gods of Greece, Italy and India* was also written about the same time,

although it was given the form which it now bears later on. The object of this essay was "to point out a resemblance, too strong to have been accidental, between the popular worship of the old Greeks and Italians and that of the Hindus, and their strange religion and that of Egypt, China, Persia, Phrygia, Phoenicia and Syria, and even remoter nations." (Works Vol. I p. 229). As a result of his comparative studies and investigations, Jones came to the conclusion that a connection must have subsisted between the old idolatrous nations of Egypt, India, Greece, and Italy long before they migrated to their respective settlements,—a connection which is therefore older than the birth of Moses. About one thing Jones was absolutely sure. That the name of Krishna and the general outline of his story were probably anterior even to the time of Homer (*circ.* 850 B. C.) But the motley character of Krishna —a grotesque assemblage of incongruous qualities, full of chastity and purity and yet having all the outward marks of a libertine, so tender and benevolent and yet fomenting a terrible internecine war—can only be explained in the light of the supposition that the spurious gospels,

which were so numerous in the first stages of Christianity, were brought to India and repeated to the Hindus, who in their turn foisted their wildest parts rather indiscriminately upon "the old fable of Césava, the Apollo of Greece." And the Gopikas were none other than the Muses of Greece.

In 1785 was started in Calcutta a periodical called the *Asiatic Miscellany*, to which Jones contributed liberally. The six hymns, addressed to the six Hindu deities, viz., *Indra*, *Suryya*, *Lacshmi*, *Narayan*, *Sereswati* and *Ganga*, which were his original compositions, appeared along with *The Enchanted Fruit or Hindu Wife* and a literal translation of the twenty tales and fables of Nizami in the first two volumes of the *Asiatic Miscellany* (Works Vol. VI p. 337). He subsequently added three more hymns, *e.g.*, to *Camdeo* (the Grecian Eros and the Roman Cupido), to *Durga*, and to *Bhavani*. To each hymn was prefaced an elaborate "argument" which was but an explanatory introduction for the benefit of the English reader. It is also a sort of comparative study of Hindu mythology. In the hymn to *Suryya*, he thus refers to himself as a votary of Sanscrit learning :

"And if they ask, "What mortal pours the strain?"
Say, (for thou seest earth, air and main),
Say, "From the bosom of yon silver isle,
"Where skies more softly smile,
"He came, and, lisping our celestial tongue,
"Though not from *Brahma* sprung,
"Draws orient knowledge from its fountains pure,
"Through caves obstructed long, and paths too long obscure." "

Then notice again another autobiographic touch in the following serio-comic verses of the same hymn:

"Then roves thy poet free,
Who with no borrowed art
Dares hymn thy power, and durst provoke thy blaze,
But felt the thrilling dart;
And now on lowly knee
From him, who gave the wound, the balsam prays."

Jones had a sunstroke once and so he never again ventured out in the sun. Every evening after sunset he used to walk to his residence on the Ganges, which was about five miles from the court; and in the morning he would rise early

enough to be able to get to his work in town before sunrise.

On March 19, 1788, Jones wrote a long letter to Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General of the English possessions in India, in which he pointed out the crying need of a digest of Hindu and Mahomedan laws, and offered to undertake such a compilation himself if the Government would bear the necessary expenses. This was in fact a matter of the first importance and the proposal was gladly accepted. Jones entered upon this colossal task with his native zeal, and carefully selected a sufficient number of Hindu and Mahomedan scholars to assist him in his work. He did not, however, live to finish the digest, although a good beginning was made in his lifetime, as witness the Mahomedan Law of Inheritance, published in 1792, and the Institutes of Hindu Law or the Ordinances of Manu, published in 1794. His work was finished by Colebrooke.*

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* Jones's work was very highly appreciated by Colebrooke. And Prof. Max Mueller is of opinion that Colebrooke owed much of his eminent success as a Sanscrit scholar to the circumstance that he followed and not preceded Jones.

For reasons of health Lady Jones embarked for England in December, 1793, and Jones wished to follow her in the course of a year or two, that is to say, as soon as the law-digest should be finished. He proposed to return by way of China or Persia, and to publish an account of those ancient countries. But God willed it otherwise. On the 27th of April, 1794, he died of inflammation of the liver after a short illness.

"In the short space of 47 years," I am quoting from Lord Teignmouth, "by the exertion of rare intellectual talents, he acquired a knowledge of arts, sciences and languages, which has seldom been equalled and perhaps never surpassed. If he did not attain the critical proficiency of a Parson or Parr in Grecian literature, yet his knowledge of it was most extensive and profound and entitled him to a high rank in the first class of scholars, whilst as a philologist he could boast a universality in which he had no rival. His skill in the idioms of India, Persia and Arabia has perhaps never been equalled by any European; and his compositions on oriental subjects display a taste which we seldom find in the writings of those who had preceded him in these tracts of

literature. The language of Constantinople was also familiar to him, and of the Chinese characters and tongue, he had learned enough to translate an ode of Confucius. In the modern dialects of Europe, French, Spanish, Portuguese and German he was thoroughly conversant with and had perused the most admired writers in those languages." (Memoirs p. 375)

Weak in body, Jones had indeed a mighty mind. From a paper in his handwriting it appears that he knew as many as twenty-eight languages.* But a language was with him only a means to an end—an instrument by means of which one could add to one's knowledge by study and research from the accumulated wisdom of all ages and nations. The delight of his leisure

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* The following is copied from a paper in the handwriting of Sir William Jones (Vide Memoirs p. 376).

Eight languages studied critically: English, Latin, French, Italian, Greek, Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit.

Eight studied less perfectly, but all intelligible with a dictionary: Spanish, Portuguese, German, Runick, Hebrew, Bengali, Hindi, Turkish.

Twelve studied least perfectly, but attainable: Tibetian, Pali, Pahlavi, Deri, Russian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic, Welsh, Swedish, Dutch, Chinese.

Twenty-eight languages.

hours was botany. Whenever he would get sick—and he would get sick pretty frequently—he used to get plants from the country brought to his couch, and study them with the books of Linnaeus before him. His wife helped him with her good eyesight and her skill in drawing. And his treatises on botany testify to the industry and understanding with which he pursued this subject. The famous *Asoka-tree* of Indian mythology and poetry is known to the botanists as *Jonesia asoka*, and was so named by Dr. William Roxburgh in honour of Sir William Jones. Be that as it may, the study of languages and literatures ever remained his principal intellectual occupation.

The eleven anniversary discourses that he delivered as president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from 1784 to 1794, on the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, philosophy and literature of Asia, and on the origin and families of nations, are all printed in the first volume of his Works. They show his profound Oriental scholarship. In the first of these discourses, given in February, 1784, Jones dwelt on the vast field of research that lay before the Society—a field which was almost

as boundless as the continent of Asia itself, for they proposed nothing less than "to enquire into the history, civil and natural, antiquities, arts, sciences and literature of Asia." In the second anniversary discourse, delivered on February 24, 1785, he indicated the lines on which the investigations of the Society were to be conducted, and foreshadowed the useful discoveries that might result from their labours. He, therefore, exhorted the members to collect exhaustive informations about the MSS. they might come across together with their dates and the names of their owners. And in this connection he incidentally observed that the superiority of the European talent lay chiefly in the fact that "reason and taste are the grand prerogatives of *European* minds, while the *Asiaticks* have soared to loftier heights in the sphere of imagination." The five following anniversary discourses belonging to the years 1786 to 1790 inclusive deal with the *Hindus*, the *Arabs*, the *Tartars*, the *Persians* and the *Chinese* respectively ; that is to say, with the five races that had in different ages divided amongst themselves, as a kind of inheritance, the vast continent of Asia. The object of

these addresses was to discuss the question whether these five peoples had a common origin and whether that origin was the one usually ascribed to them.

He begins with trying to ascertain who these peoples really were, when and from what place or places they came, and to indicate where they are now actually settled. The general media of his investigations are : *first*, their languages and literatures ; *secondly*, their religion and philosophy ; and *thirdly*, the actual remains of their ancient sculpture and architecture and the written memorials of their arts and sciences. The results of his investigations may be briefly summarized as follows, without going into all the details of his many-sided arguments.

The *Deva-nāgari* characters, the square *Chaldaic* letters in which most Hebrew books are copied, and the *Arabian* characters were originally the same or derived from the same prototype ; and there can be little doubt that the *Phoenician* characters, from which the Greek and the Roman alphabets were derived, had also a similar origin. *

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* After very careful and diligent researches G.

At the birth of Mahomet, two languages appear to have been current in the great empire of Iran : the language of the court, thence appropriately called *Deri*, which was only a refined and elegant dialect of the *Parsi*, so called from the province of which Shiraz is now the capital ; and the language of the learned, in which most books were composed and which was called *Pahlavi*, either from the heroes who spoke it in former times, or from *Pahlu*, a tract of land, where some great cities of Iraq were situated. But there was also a third language known to the priests and the philosophers. It was a very ancient and abstruse tongue, and went by the name of *the language of the Zend*, because a sacred book of that name (e. g., *Zend-Avesta*) had been written in it.

Buehler has come to the conclusion that the Indian Brahmi Alphabet from which are derived the *Nagri-script* and other numerous Indian alphabets used in MSS., can be traced back to the oldest North-Semitic characters as they are found in Phoenician inscriptions and upon Mesha's Stone about 890 B. C.—Vide Indische Palaeographie by G. Buehler, Strassburg, 1896 (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Band I. Heft II).

The *Parsi* has so much of Sanscrit in it that it was evidently derived from the language of the Brahmins. The *Pahlavi*, on the contrary, has a strong resemblance to Arabic. The *Zend*, in its turn, is also a dialect of Sanscrit. All these facts naturally point to the conclusion that the oldest discoverable languages of Persia were *Chaldaic* and *Sanscrit*, from which were derived, later on, *Pahlavi* and *Zend* respectively ; and *Parsi* took its origin either from *Zend* or direct from *Sanscrit*. Probably they all had a tincture of the *Tartarian* tongue in them, because the best lexicographers have discovered in old Persian numberless words belonging to the Tartarian dialects. Jones leaves modern Persian out of account, because the period of his investigation does not extend beyond the date of the foundation of Islam.

It can be shown that a powerful Hindu empire had been in existence in Iran long before the Pishdadi * or Assyrian government,

* "The Pishdadian Dynasty.—The history of Persia, so far as its inhabitants know it, begins with a legendary dynasty, termed Pishdadian or "Early Law Givers." The founder of this was Keiomarz, the Zoroastrian

and that the language of this state was the mother of Sanscrit, and consequently of Zend and Parsi, as well as of Greek, Latin and Gothic. It can also be proved that the language of the Assyrians was the parent of Chaldaic and of Pahlavi, and that the primitive Tartarian language also had been current in the same empire.

Thus the three distinct races of men, viz., *the Hindus*, *the Arabs*, and *the Tartars*, are discovered in Iran or Persia at the earliest dawn of history. But they are so different in form and features, language, manners, and religion, that even if they had originally sprung from one common stock, they must have been separated for ages.

It is also probable, though it cannot be definitely proved, that *the Chinese* and *the Hindus* were originally one and the same people.

The eighth anniversary discourse, delivered on Feb. 24, 1791, deals with the *Borderers, Mountaineers and Islanders of Asia*, who can

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Adam, who, with his two successors Hushang and Tahmurz, is supposed to have laid the foundation of civilization in Iran."—Sykes, A History of Persia, London, 1921. Vol. I pp. 133-4.

all be classed under one or other of the three principal races of Asia ; viz., the Hindus, the Arabs and the Tartars. The written language of the Abyssinians ("*Borderers*") which we call *Ethiopic*, is a dialect of the old Chaldaic and, therefore, a sister of Arabic and Hebrew. And there are very solid grounds for believing that the Afghans ("*Mountaineers*") are descended from the Jews. Hence both the Abyssinians and the Afghans come under the group of the Arabs. Also, clear vestiges of one ancient language are discernible in all the insular dialects of the Southern Seas from Madagascar up to the Philippines (and even as far as Peru and Mexico), and the parent of all these dialects seems to have been Sanscrit.

The ninth anniversary discourse delivered on Feb. 23, 1792, *On the Origin and Families of Nations* sums up the results of the whole inquiry. It can be incontestably shown, as it has been roughly indicated above, that the first race of Persians and Indians, to whom may be added the Romans and the Greeks, the Goths and the old Egyptians or Ethiops, originally spoke the same language and also professed the same popular faith. It is also an undisputed and

indisputable fact that the Jews and the Arabs, the Assyrians or the second Persian race, the people who spoke "Syraick," and a numerous tribe of Abyssinians, used one primitive dialect, wholly distinct from Sanscrit. But it is no more than highly probable that the settlers in China and Japan had a common origin with the Hindus. And it can be plausibly conjectured, although it cannot be definitely proved, that the Tartars, as they are unscientifically called, were primarily of a third separate race, totally differing from the other two in language, manners and features.

These five races of men, viz., *the Hindus*, *the Arabs*, *the Tartars*, *the Persians* and *the Chinese*, are, therefore, reducible to three; and these three races, assuming that the foregoing conclusions are correct, must have migrated originally from some common central habitation; and all the available data in this connexion lead us to fix upon Iran as being the site of that common home. For, it is only in Iran that traces of the three primitive languages are discovered in the earliest historical age, and its position with respect to Arabia or Egypt, India, Tartary or China, lends a peculiar weight to this conclusion.*

* "It was formerly usual to place this primitive home

In the tenth anniversary discourse, given on Feb. 28, 1793, he speaks *On the Asiatic History, Civil and Natural.* He starts with the civil history of the five Asiatic nations, which necessarily comprises their geography or a description of the places where they have lived and moved, and also their astronomy which may enable us to fix with some degree of accuracy the time of their actions. Then he passes on to a review of the history of such animals and minerals and vegetables etc., as they might be supposed to have found in the course of their several migrations and settlements, and ends by recounting the uses to which they had probably put the rich assemblage of natural substances.

Jones regretted that the Hīndus except the people of Cashmere had left no written records of their deeds ; but he felt sure that "a general outline" of Indian history could be made out by a close student from the materials to be found in the Sanscrit literature of old.

somewhere in Asia, whereas at present scholars lean rather to the opinion that the Asiatic members of the stock passed over from Europe." Cp. Schrader, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte, Jena, 1883, p. 442 ff. This book has been translated into English by F. Byron Jevons, under the title of Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples, London, 1890.

The popular tales of the Hindus, in prose and verse, contained fragments of history, while the Puranas and the dramas also might furnish quite useful data. And Jones himself made no inconsiderable contributions in this direction. One or two instances may be interesting here.

Megasthenes mentions a town called *Palibothra* which, according to him, stood at the confluence of the Ganges and *the Erannoboas.* And we know that Pataliputra extended from the confluence of *the Sone* and the Ganges to the site of modern Patna. But the difficulty was to make sure as to which particular river Megasthenes could have meant by *the Erannoboas.* There were different views put forward and conjectures made, but none of them could be justified by documentary evidences. Now Jones found in a Sanscrit classic, nearly two thousand years old, that Hiranyabahu (the golden-armed), which the Greeks changed into *Erannoboas* (the river with a lovely murmur), was in fact only another name for *the Sone*, although Megasthenes from ignorance or inattention had made two different rivers of them.

This discovery led to another of much greater moment. The Greek historians mention an Indian prince of the name of *Sandrocottus*, who, from a mere military adventurer, became the sovereign of upper Hindustan, held his court at *Palibothra*, and about 315 B. C. defeated Seleucus and concluded a treaty with him. Now it is known that Chandragupta started his career as a military adventurer and gradually brought under his sway the whole of Northern India. And it is a fact that he had his capital at Pataliputra, where he received ambassadors from foreign princes. So as soon as Jones succeeded in identifying Pataliputra with *Palibothra* of the Greek writer, he could at once conclude that Chandragupta was no other than that very *Sandrocottus* who had made a treaty with Seleucus. This was certainly a very notable contribution to the making of Indian history, and for this we are indebted to the genius of Sir William Jones.

In the eleventh and last anniversary discourse, given by Jones before the Asiatic Society of Bengal on Feb. 20, 1794, he enlarges upon *the Philosophy of the Asiatics.* He includes

under this head (i) their medicine, (ii) their metaphysics and logic, (iii) their ethics, (iv) their mathematics, astronomy, algebra, geometry and arithmetic, and lastly, (v) their theology. He was surprised that "the whole of the theology of Newton and part of his philosophy may be found in the Vedas and even in the works of the Sufis."*

Among his papers have been discovered after his death twenty-three big literary projects touching India, Arabia, China, Persia and Tartary, which he called *Desiderata.*† It should not be supposed, however, that he meant to accomplish all these projects himself. But none the less they testify to the gigantic scope of his intellect and to his breadth of view as a scholar.

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* 1. The Sufis are a Mahomedan sect whose philosophy is almost identical with that of the Indian Vedanta School. Their fundamental tenet is that God is everything and everything God.

† "Desiderata" or the Oriental literary projects of Sir Willian Jones.

India.

1. The ancient geography of India from the Puranas.

He was indeed a man of letters in the widest sense of the term. In the preface to his *Commentaries* he says: "If I am asked, who is the greatest man, I answer *the best*; and the best man is he who has deserved most of his fellow-creatures." Judged by this standard, Jones was certainly a very great man. He was above party politics and his only ambition in life was to be of service to his country and to mankind.

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2. A botanical description of Indian plants from the Coshas etc.
3. A grammar of the Sanscrit language from Panini etc.
4. A dictionary of the Sanscrit language from thirty-two original Vocabularies and Niructi.
5. On the ancient music of the Indians.
6. On the medical substances of India, and the Indian art of medicine.
7. On the Philosophy of the Ancient Indians.
8. A translation of the Vedas.
9. On ancient Indian Geometry, Astronomy and Algebra.
10. A translation of the Puranas.
11. A translation of the Mahabharata and Ramayana.
12. On the Indian Theatre etc.
13. On the Indian constellations, with their mythology from the Puranas.

Oriental literature grew rather to be a passion with him and he devoted himself to it with a degree of diligence which cannot but excite our admiration ; and it is here that his chief claim to the gratitude of posterity lies. "Every day supplies me with something new in oriental learning," writes he on March 10,

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14. The history of India before the Mahomedan Conquest from the Sanscrit Cashmir histories.

Arabia.

15. The history of Arabia before Mahomed.
16. A translation of the Hamasa.
17. A translation of Hariri.
18. A translation of the Facahatul Khulafa, of the Cafiah.

Persia.

19. The history of Persia from authorities in Sanscrit, Arabic, Greek, Turkish, Persian, Ancient and Modern.
20. The five poems of Nizami, translated in prose.
    A dictionary of pure Persian Jehangiri.

China.

21. Translation of the Shi-King.
22. The Text of Con-fu-tsu, verbally translated.

Tartary.

23. A history of the Tartar Nations, chiefly of the Moguls and Othmans, from the Turkish and Persian.

1784, "and if I were to stay here half a century, I should be continually amused" (Memoirs p. 245). He spent his holidays usually at Krishnagar which was "about as far from Calcutta as Oxford is from London, and close to an ancient university of Brahmanes, with whom I now converse familiarly in Sanscrit" (Memoirs p. 299). "By rising before the sun I allot an hour every day to Sanscrit and am charmed with knowing such a beautiful sister of Latin and Greek" (Memoirs p. 287).

In the third anniversary discourse before the Asiatic Society, delivered on February 2, 1786 (Works Vol. I p. 26), he speaks of the Sanscrit language as "more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either ; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the root of verbs, and in the form of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident ; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three without believing them to have sprung from some common source which, perhaps, no longer exists." Jones thought that there was a similar, though not quite so forcible, reason for supposing that both

Gothic and Celtic as also Old Persian had the same origin with Sanscrit.

Benfey in his "Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft" mentions the missionaries who had, long before Jones, pointed out the similarity between Sanscrit and the European languages ; and one of them even went so far as to declare that this similarity was due to the fact that the Indians belonged to the same family of nations with the Latins and the Greeks (Vide Geschichte der Wissenschaft in Deutschland Bd. 8 S. 222 f., 336 f., 341). But, as Marie E. de Meester remarks, Jones was the first eminent Sanscrit scholar among the Europeans, and was the first to see the important place that Sanscrit occupied in the history of the Indo-Germanic languages ; and it is certainly he who laid the foundations of the modern science of comparative philology.

It should be noted here that Jones was not only a great collector of MSS.,* but he was also the first European to edit a Sanscrit text in Sanscrit types, viz., "Ṛtusaṁhāra : The seasons a descriptive poem by Calidasa in the original

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* For a catalogue of the Sanscrit MSS. presented by Sir William Jones to the Royal Society, see Works Vol. VI p. 441.

Sanscrit, Calcutta, 1792." Goldstücker reckons, therefore, the new era of the Sanscrit philology from the date of Jones's edition of Ṛtusaṁhāra. In his "Dissertation on the Orthography of the Asiatick Words in Roman Letters," (Works Vol. I p. 175), Jones drew up a transcription of the Sanscrit alphabet in Latin characters, which was better than that of Wilkins and to which all the prevailing systems have since adapted themselves. Jones was again the first European to point out that the method of instructing by apologues, the decimal scale now adopted by all civilized nations, and the game of chess were the inventions of the Hindus.

Windisch, in his "Geschichte der Sanscrit Philologie," Bd I. Strassburg, 1917, points out that Sanscrit has been more or less known in Europe since the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1651 was published in Leyden a book called "De Open-Deure tot het verborgen Heydendom" (The Open Door to the Hidden Heathendom), written by a Dutch missionary, named Abraham Roger, who had been in India from 1630 to 1647. In it the author gave in translation some of the maxims of Bhartṛhari. Then may be mentioned the three anonymous

accounts of India left by the Portuguese missionaries, which refer principally to Southern India, and of which the earliest one cannot be older than 1670. They do not seem to have attracted much attention at the time of their first appearance. The authors draw more upon the contents of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata than upon those of the Puranas. Their informations were derived orally from the Brahmins, and the statements they make about the Vedas and the Puranas are most confused and inaccurate. They speak of the caste-system, of the four cycles of ages (चतुर्यगम्), and the third account mentions also the fourteen worlds (चतुर्दश भुवनानि) !

Of some thirty-five French travellers in India during the seventeenth century, who had in some cases left rather voluminous accounts of their travels in this country, none enjoyed a greater popularity than Bernier and Tavernier. Out of his thirteen years' stay in India (1656-68), Bernier was for eight years physician to Aurangzebe. His vivid description of that monarch's fights with his brothers, his reports as eye-witness of the burning alive of Hindu widows, his accounts of *Fakirs* and

palmists, of the solar eclipse of 1666 and of the *Rathajatra* festival in the temple of Jagannath, made his book read like a romance. It was first published in 1670 and repeatedly reprinted and was also translated into English, German, Dutch and Italian. But Bernier did not know any Sanscrit, and of Sanscrit literature we hear nothing worth listening to in his book, although once or twice he uses such terms as *Vedas*, *Brahma*, *Mahahdeu*, *Purane* etc. Tavernier was a contemporary of Bernier and they did some of their travelling in India together. He confines himself principally to describing the important towns, the products of the land, the monetary system and the facilities of communication. He remarked that the Brahmins had a kind of university at Benares, "where chiefly astrology is cultivated and where they have also scholars to instruct in the laws."

But more to the point for our present purpose is the letter of the French Jesuit, Père Pons, dated *Careical*, on the coast of *Tanjaour*, the 23rd November, 1740. (Vide Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères [mémoires des Indes] Tome XIV,

Toulouse, 1810, pp. 55-76). It was addressed to Père du Halde, a brother missionary of the same society. Père Pons who certainly had a working knowledge of Sanscrit, called his letter "an essay on certain aspects of Indian literature." He divided it into ten sections and then dealt *seriatim* with the Sanscrit grammar, the dictionaries, treatises on versification and poetry, history, the Vedas, mathematics and philosophy.

He regarded the Sanscrit grammar as one of the most beautiful of sciences that had ever existed, and was struck by the circumstance as to how by analysis *la plus riche langue du monde* (the richest language of the world) had been reduced to a small number of primitive elements, which one might regard as the *caput mortuum* of the language. He had also prepared an *abrégé* of Panini's grammar.

Of the eighteen dictionaries, Père Pons found the one by *Amarasinha* most in use. The dictionary called *Visvābhidhānam* was arranged alphabetically according to the last letters of the words.

The eloquence of orators was never much

in request in India. Nevertheless the Brahmins had a large number of books dealing with the canons of elocution, which formed a science by themselves and went by the name of the *Alankārachāstram.*

There was a great dearth of historical literature in India. But the Brahmins assured Père Pons that there existed in the North of India "plusieurs livres qu'on appelle *Nātak*, qui...... contiennent beaucoup d'histoires anciennes sans aucun mélange de fables" (several books which were called *Nātak* and which contained much ancient historical matter without any admixture of fables). In the poems of India, as a rule, are to be found broadcast a thousand precious references to venerable antiquity, such as those regarding the Assyrian empire, the victories of Alexander under the name of *Javana-Raja* (the King of the Javanas or Greeks , etc.

Next to the nobility of their birth, what raised the Brahmins infinitely above the common people was "la science de la Religion, des Mathématiques & la Philosophie." The Vedas contained the theology of the Brahmins, while the ancient Puranas embodied the "popular"

theology. Père Pons understood the Vedas to be nothing but a compilation of the "different superstitious and often diabolical practices" of the ancient *Richis* or *Mounis*. The Vedic gods were made amenable to the intrinsic force of the sacrifices and the *mantras*. He was surprised to find in the Vedas the words : *Om*, *Santi*, *Santi*, *Santi*, *harih* (ओं शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः हरिः), because the letter or the syllable *Om* contained the trinity in unity, and the remainder was a literal translation of *Sanctus*, *Sanctus*, *Sanctus*, *Dominus*.

A certain Greek sage who like Pythagoras had formerly visited India and had learnt here the sciences of the Brahmins from them, taught the latter in his turn the Greek method of astronomy and the Greek names of the planets, the signs of the zodiac, and the technical terms, such as *hora*, *kendra* etc.

Last of all, Père Pons came to speak of the six schools of Indian philosophy. He observed how the Nyaya school had totally eclipsed all the other schools, ever since the Academy of Nadia in Bengal had become the most celebrated of all India for some centuries, and also how the spirit of useless disputation had won for this system the title of the *Tarkachāstram*.

Père Pons did not forget to mention even the hackneyed example of smoke and fire (cp. पर्व्वतो वह्निमान् धूमात्) which was then so much in vogue in the matter of illustrating a logical syllogism. Nor did the example of the rope being mistaken for a snake by way of explaining the principle of *maya* (cp. असर्पभूतायां रज्ज्वौ सर्पत्वारोपवत्) escape his notice. According to the Vedantists, the key to the delivery of the soul lay in the words "*Aham ava param Brachma* Je suis l' Etre-Suprême" (अहमेव परं ब्रह्म) which they were never tired of repeating.

Jones happened to read this letter before leaving Europe ; and, on arriving in India, he began to make inquiries about these *Nātakas*, which, as we now know, led to his discovery of the Sanscrit drama. A German Jesuit, Johannes Ernst Hanxleden, was a missionary in India from 1699 to 1731 and was the first European to write a Sanscrit grammar, though in Latin. It was never printed, but was used in MS. in compiling two Sanscrit grammars, which were printed in Rome in 1790 and 1804 respectively.

But this knowledge of Sanscrit in Europe, like the knowledge of India itself and of the East as a whole, was nothing like real and

systematic. A real and systematic study of Sanscrit by Europeans was not begun till the latter end of the eighteenth century, when it was started by three Englishmen, viz., Wilkins, Jones and Colebrooke.

In 1772 appeared Jones's "Poems translated chiefly from Asiatic languages" ; in 1782 followed "Moāllakāt" and in 1789 "Sacontala." In 1785 appeared Wilkins's translation of the "Bhagavat Geeta." Then followed the translations by Jones and Colebrooke of the law books and the philosophical works of the Hindus and the Mahomedans. Besides those already mentioned, Jones translated also "Gitagovinda or the Song of Jayadeva," "Hitopodesa," extracts from the Vedas, etc. Jones, however, regretted his own lack of time and "anxiously wished" that others might be induced to learn Sanscrit, so that they might be able to translate the valuable works composed in it. The works of Jones, Wilkins, and Colebrooke were widely read by most literary men of their time and led to the foundation of the Eastern studies, which Miss Conant calls the "new scholarly movement." It was a period of marked predilection for Oriental literature and pilosophy at first hand, as

distinguished from the immediately preceding period that had been characterized by vague and imaginative speculations about the East, based chiefly on hearsay and translations. The earliest example of the influence of this new era in English poetry we find in John Scott's "Oriental Eclogues," written in 1782, where Scott refers to the "elegant and judicious Essay on Oriental poetry" of the "learned and ingenious Mr. Jones." (Works of John Scott, London, 1782, p. 127).

It may be noted here that this inauguration of the Eastern studies by Jones and his co-workers in India was only one phase of the great romantic movement which had begun in England about the year 1700 and had found its first noteworthy exponents in the sixties of the eighteenth century in Percy, Macpherson, Walpole and Chatterton. About the year 1700 there were already some new forces at work in England. Not only was there a sort of nascent revolt against the strict rules and ideals of classicism but there came also at the same time a flood of Oriental translations from French. As early as 1692, Sir William Temple shows interest in Norse poetry and mythology, in Indian and

Chinese life and art. The chief reason of this popularity of Oriental matter was, of course, its romantic character. Verily, a love for the new and the remote in space and time was in the air. And the East with its tales and fables, its brilliancy of colours and magic of spirit, has always been a land of romance to the West. As far back as the eleventh century, we find in the Anglo-Saxon translations of the legends of Alexander the fictitious descriptions about the marvels of India. But previous to 1700, this Oriental influence was, as noted above, only vague and imaginative. In the eighteenth century, however, it assumes quite a definite character and runs parallel to, and is probably a part of, the romantic revival. Miss Conant, in her "Oriental Tale in England in the 18th Century", goes so far as to opine: "As Allan Ramsay and Thomson prepared the way for Burns and Wordsworth, so, less obviously but none the less truly, the translators and writers of the oriental tale together with the historians and travellers, were the forerunners of Southey, Moore, Byron, Matthew Arnold, Fitzgerald and many others, on to Kipling in the present day".

Of course, the first and the foremost cause of this Oriental movement in English poetry was England's expansion in India; and historical events like Napoleon's expedition into Egypt 1798-99, the Peninsular War 1808-14, and the War of Independence in Greece greatly added to its strength. In 1828 an Oriental Translation Fund was started under the patronage of King Geroge IV and many interesting and valuable works have since been translated and published as the result.

Johannes Hoops, in his article entitled "Orientalische Stoffe in der englischen Literatur," (Deutsche Rundschau, August, 1906), points out more clearly than Miss Conant but in language less strong, that almost all the great English poets of the nineteenth century, with the exception of Wordsworth and Keats, have been more or less influenced by this Oriental movement. He mentions Coleridge, Landor, Southey, Sir Walter Scott, Moore, Shelley, Byron, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, Fitzgerald, and Sir Edwin Arnold and concludes by saying that with Rudyard Kipling begins a new era in the history of Oriental matter in English poetry. Among the American authors, Emerson

and Thoreau seem to have been greatly influenced by Eastern philosophy and by Eastern ideals of life. And in Germany, as Johannes Hoops points out, it was the immediate cause of such works as Schlegel's "Sprache und Weisheit der Inder" (1808), Goethe's "Westöstlicher Diwan'' (1819), Rückert's eastern poems and translations (1822 and after), Platen's "Die Abassiden" (1834), Bodenstedt's "Lieder des Mirza Schaffy", and so on. One cannot understand Schopenhauer's philosophy except with reference to the influence of the East. It was felt in Denmark and France as well.

Now the direct influence of Sir William Jones as an Oriental scholar is seen in Southey, Moore, Byron, Tennyson and Shelley.

Southey read all Jones's original and translation works and the "Asiatic Researches", although he expresses the opinion that "no man except Mr. Pitt has a reputation so much above his deserts" (Englische Studien, Bd. 28 S. 406). In *Thalaba* Southey deals with the Mahomedan religion, made known in Europe through the Arabian Nights. For his next subject he took "that mythology which Sir William Jones had

been the first to introduce into English poetry" (Preface to "The Curse of Kehama"). *The Curse of Kehama* is based upon the peculiarities of the Hindu religion.

Thomas Moore was also a diligent student of Oriental literature. Thiergen in his Leipziger Dissertation, "Byron's und Moore's Orientalische Gedichte," points out that Moore seems to have read about seventy-five books published on Eastern subjects towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In his *Lalla Rookh* he describes

"The maid of India, blessed again to hold
In her full lap the champaca's leaves of gold."

Jones had made it familiar to the English reader that the Indian woman used to wear upon her black hair the gold-coloured champaca flower. The champaca is a familiar figure in Indian poetry, both ancient and modern.

In the prose part of *Lalla Rookh*, Moore refers to the Hindu custom of sending lit lamps down the river.

In one of his unpublished poems called *The Barmaid*, Byron parodies a poem of Hafej that had been translated by Sir William Jones.

As far back as 1827, Tennyson, in the "Poems by two Brothers", shows his acquaintance with Jones's works which he mentions in his notes.* The poem called "The Expedition of Nadir Shah into Hindostan", was inspired by Jones's "History of Nadir Shah." Then in the poem "Thou camest to thy Bower, my Love, across the musky Grove" occurs the line

"And brighter than the sea of gold, the gorgeous Himsagar."

Jones speaks of the flower Hemsagar (the sea of gold) in his botanical observations on Indian plants.

In the same poem is another line

"Thy locks were like a midnight cloud with silver moon-beams wove."

Tennyson admits to have taken this simile from Jones's translation of *Gita-Govinda* or the Song of Jayadeva (whom Tennyson calls the Horace of India) where we read :

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* Vide "Poems by Two Brothers", London, 1893, pp. 79, 165, 206. These poems are not included in the modern editions of Tennyson's Works, as the authorship of every single poem in the volume cannot be definitely ascertained nor can the handwriting of the manuscript be taken to be a sure guide in this matter.

"His locks, interwoven with blossoms, were like a cloud, variegated with moonbeams." (Works Vol. I p. 481 ll. 15-16).

The last stanza of Tennyson's *Love* is, according to his own admission, an adaptation of two riming couplets from Jones's *Hymn to Camdeo*, the Indian God of Love.

Jones has

"He bends the luscious cane, and twists the string
With bees, how sweet ! but ah, how keen their sting !
He with five flow'rets tips thy ruthless darts,
Which thro' five senses pierce enraptur'd hearts."
(Works Vol. VI p. 315 ll. 27-30).

Tennyson's lines are :

"Thy fragrant bow of cane thou bendest,
Twanging the string of honey'd bees,
And thence the flower-tipped arrow sendest,
Which gives, or robs the heart of ease ;
Camdeo or Cupid, O be near,
To listen or to grant my prayer."

About *Locksley Hall*, which was published in 1842, Hallam, Lord Tennyson writes in the *Memoir* of his father : (London, 1897, Vol. I p. 195) "I remember my father saying that

Sir William Jones's prose translation of the *Moāllakāt*, the seven Arabic poems (which are a selection from the work of the pre-Mahommedan poets) hanging up in the temple of Mecca, gave him the idea of the poem."

E. Koeppel, in his article entitled "Sir William Jones's Moallakat and Locksley Hall", (englische Studien, Bd 28), points out that the underlying thought of Tennyson's poem is the same as that of the Arabic poems of the Moāllakāt ; that is to say, the complaint of the lover for his dead or faithless mistress. The lover stands before the desolate and ruined dwelling of the beloved and remembers with sorrow the happiness of the past. The sentiments of Tennyson's hero are similar to the complaints about the faithlessness of the beloved in the Poem of Hareth (cp. verses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Works Vol. IV p. 326), and to the admonition to give up the faithless one in the Poem of Lebeid (cp. verses 20-21 Works Vol. IV pp. 287-88). But the greatest similarity to the opening of Tennyson's monologue is, however, shown by the Poem of Amriokais, the first of the *Moāllakāt*. In both the poems the lover makes his first appearance

in company with his friends to whom he speaks thus :

"Stay. Let us weep at the remembrance of our beloved, at the sight of the station where her tent was raised, by the edge of yon bending sands between Dahul and Haumel." (Jones Works Vol. IV p. 249 verse 1).

Comrades, leave me here a little, while as yet 't is
early morn :
Leave me here, and when you want me, sound
upon the bugle horn.

(*Locksley Hall*, Stanza 1).

Just as the young Arab looks wistfully upon the spot where the tent of his beloved used to stand, so the English youth also looks in sorrow and disgust upon Locksley Hall, where the faithless Amy lives.

The influence of the Arabic poem upon Tennyson is most clearly seen in his introduction of the comrades without any ostensible purpose. In the Arabic poem they have a part to play—they speak. In Tennyson they are there apparently without any reason. They never utter a word.

Verse 23 of the Arabic poem

"It was the hour, when the Pleiads appeared in the firmament, like the folds of a silken sash variously decked with gems" (Works Vol. IV p. 251)
resembles both in thought and expression stanza 5 of *Locksley Hall* :

Many a night I saw the Pleiads, rising through the mellow shade,
Glitter like a swarm of fire-flies tangled in a silver-braid.

The Arabic poem ends with the description of a storm, in the following strain :

(64) O friend, seest thou the lightning, whose flashes resemble the quick glance of two hands amid clouds above clouds ?

Then the verses that follow fully describe the fury of the storm, concluding thus :

(73) The cloud unloads its freight on the desert of Ghabeit, like a merchant of Yemen alighting with his bales of rich apparels.

Tennyson certainly took from these verses the hint for the beautiful picture of the storm in the last two stanzas of *Locksley Hall* :

(96) Comes a vapour from the margin,
blackening over heath and holt,
Cramming all the blast before it,
in its breast a thunderbolt.
(97) Let it fall on Locksley Hall, with
rain and hail, or fire or snow ;
For the mighty wind arises, roaring
seaward, and I go.

E. Koeppel has ingeniously pointed out that Tennyson is indebted to Jones not only for the matter but also for the form of *Locksley Hall*. Jones had published in Latin characters a transcription of the original text of the *Moāllakāt* ; and this may have suggested to Tennyson the trochaic riming couplets of eight stresses :

5. Cada / bica / minom / mialh / howai / rithi / kabla / ha.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
16. Love took / up the / glass of / Time and / turn'd it / in his /
1 2 3 4 5 6
glowing / hands.
7 8

But we need not take Koeppel too literally. And even if there had been any such influence, we may take it that it was quite unconscious. For, in the notes that he added to *Locksley*

Hall, Tennyson writes: "Mr. Hallam said to me that the English people liked verse in trochaics, so I wrote the poem in this metre."—Vide "The Works of Tennyson", with notes by the author, edited with memoir by Hallam, Lord Tennyson, London, 1913, p. 916.

E. Koeppel thinks (englische Studien, Bd. 28, "Shelley's Queen Mab and Sir William Jones's Palace of Fortune") that Shelley might have read Jones's *Palace of Fortune* in Chalmer's "Works of the English Poets" Vol. XVIII.

Sir William Jones narrates in his poem (Works Vol. IV p. 410) the strange adventures of

> Young Maia, fairest of blue-eyed maids,
> That rov'd at noon in Tibet's musky shades.

But she is unhappy and "a goddess, gliding in a golden car" descends upon the flowery lawn and carries Maia into the fairy palace. In the car Maia falls asleep, but the goddess wakes her up in a splendid garden and introduces herself to Maia as *the* one from whom "all joys, all earthly blessings, flow" and who "rules the various thought of mankind."

The sleeping maiden, the descent of the Queen of the Spirits in her "pearly and pellucid car,"

the revelation of the supernatural apparition, who also in Shelley's poem announces that she knows all the thoughts of mankind, the favour that is bestowed upon Ianthe, and the removal of the maiden's soul to the cloud-palace—all these particulars of his introductory stanzas Shelley may have found in Jones's poem. Kellner has pointed out (englische Studien, Bd. 22 S 9 ff.) that Shelley was greatly inspired by Volney's *Les Ruines*, but in the French work the two female figures of the Fairy Queen and of Ianthe do not appear, while in Jones's poem the spirits that attend upon the Queen are frequently mentioned as fairies : e.g.,

> The fairy band their shining pinions spread.
> (Works Vol. IV p. 412 l. 3)
> And, as she passed, the fairies homage paid.
> (*ibid.* p. 414 l. 2)
> Around the throne in mystic order stand
> The fairy train (*ibid.* p. 414 ll. 19-20.)

Then there are certain similarities in thought and expression :

Jones : The goddess still with looks divinely fair,
Surveys the sleeping object of her care.

Shelley : Long did she gaze, and silently,
Upon the slumbering maid.

The voice of the Queen of the Spirits is heard only by the favoured ones :

Jones : And thus in sounds, that favour'd mortals hear,
She gently whispers......

Shelley : And the clear silver tones,
As thus she spoke, were such
As are unheard by all but gifted ear.

Jones : The goddess ... ...
Thrice waved her silver wand, and spoke aloud.

Shelley : The Fairy Queen descended,
And thrice she waved her wand
As thus she spoke.

In other respects, the two poems are different. The form Shelley owes to Southey. But the chief attraction of Shelley's poem lies in its prelude, in the introduction of the Fairy Queen with her aerial voyage and her palace of clouds ; and all these particulars Shelley borrowed from Jones.

So we have seen that as a literary man Sir William Jones had exercised a great influence

not only upon his contemporaries but also on the succeeding generations. And it is hardly an exaggeration to say that he was the father of comparative philology. He also did much valuable pioneer work in connexion with the sciences of comparative mythology and comparative theology. Besides, he was the founder and the guiding spirit of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which by its activities inaugurated what Johannes Hoops calls, "die Epoche des gelehrten Studiums der orientalischen Sprachen, Literatur und Einrichtungen" (the epoch of the learned study of Oriental languages, literature and institutions). Further, by his original and translation work, he supplied the materials for at least two such beautiful poems of the nineteenth century as *Locksley Hall* and *Queen Mab.* And finally, E Koeppel is of opinion that a careful examination is sure to reveal the fact that the modern English poets are much more indebted to Sir William Jones for the materials of their Eastern poems than we at present suspect.

II.

It has been noted before that Jones's translation of Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* appeared in 1789. The sensation created by this work in the literary circles of Europe was very great indeed. Nobody in Europe had ever suspected that India possessed a national drama of her own ; and naturally, within a few years of its publication, Jones's *Sakuntala* was translated into most of the important languages of Europe. More detailed information on the subject of the Indian drama was, however, supplied by H. H. Wilson's "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus," published in Calcutta, 1826-27. This book was translated into German by Wolff, Weimar, 1828-31, and into French by Langlois, Paris, 1828, and cannot be dispensed with even to-day.

With the knowledge of the Indian drama in Europe was naturally raised the question of its origin, and the controversy over it has been raging for the last hundred years. There is an Indian tradition which ascribes the drama to the god Brahma and makes it as old as the Vedas. In others words, the Indians claim their

drama to be indigenous. While some European scholars support this view, others believe to have discovered traces of Greek influence in the Hindu drama and maintain that the drama, so far as India is concerned, was little more than a borrowed thing. But, as a result of the most recent studies and researches, the theory of Greek influence has almost been exploded ; and it is now generally supposed that India possessed dramas at a time when any foreign influence was hardly possible. Winternitz concludes his long discourse on this subject by saying : "Gegen den fremden Einfluss lässt sich geltend machen, dass das indische Drama einen so durchaus national-indischen Charakter hat. Bei der indischen Astronomie, wie bei der indischen Skulptur lässt sich der griechische Einfluss handgreiflich nachweisen. Das ist beim Drama gewiss nicht der Fall. Hier stehen wir durchaus auf indischem Boden, und indischer Geist, nationales indisches Leben ist es, was uns überall in den Dramen entgegentritt".—(Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Bd. III, 1923, S. 160 ff.)* Winternitz is, however, of opinion

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* Against the charge of foreign influence is to be reckoned the fact that the Indian drama has such a

that the chronological possibility of a Greek influence cannot be denied, although it cannot be definitely established that such an influence had actually taken place.

Sten Konow also examines the question at some length, and concludes that the Indian drama can be directly traced back to the old indigenous popular songs and pantomimes which, though they were no regular dramas, were not far removed from them. "Es war bloss notwendig, die Kunst des Mimen mit der des Schauspielers zu verbinden, und Schauspieler, die selbst die Repliken sprachen, die Rolle der Schattenbilder übernehmen zu lassen."† Konow examines also the different theories regarding the origin of the Indian drama and comes to

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thoroughly *national-Indian* character. In the case of Indian astronomy, as in the case of Indian sculpture, one can palpably show the Greek influence. But this is certainly not the case with the drama. We stand here upon the Indian soil throughout and it is the Indian spirit and the national Indian life that meets us here at every turn.

† It was only necessary to unite the art of the mimic with that of the actor and to make the actors, themselves speaking the replies, assume the role of the pantomime.

the conclusion that it was bound up with the Saka empire in India ; and that Asvaghosa, the oldest known Indian dramatist, lived in the court of Kanishka, who reigned in Mathura about the middle of the second century after Christ (Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Bd. II Heft D, das indische Drama, § § 52, 53, 57, 58). In this connection see also H. H. Wilson's "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus", Vol. I. London, 1835, Preface, pp. XI—XII.

The most famous of the Indian dramatists is Kalidasa. Unfortunately we know next to nothing about his life, and about his time scholars differ in their opinion by some centuries. "The question of his age", says Macdonell ("History of Sanskrit Literature, London, 1900, p. 325), "however, is not likely to be definitely solved till the language, the style, and the poetical technique of each of his works have been minutely investigated, in comparison with datable epigraphic documents, as well as with the rules given by the oldest Sanskrit treatises on poetics." (See also G. Huth, die Zeit des Kalidasa, Dissertation, Berlin, 1890 ; Liebich, Indo-germ. Forschungen 31, 1912-13, S. 198 ff.).

Besides several lyrics and epics Kalidasa has left us also three dramas of which *Sakuntala* is one. It is a play in seven acts and is unanimously acclaimed as the best of the Indian dramas.* The subject is taken from Indian tradition and appears also in the Mahabharata from which, however, Kalidasa's treatment of it materially differs. One almost feels that he found it stone and left it marble.

The text of the drama has come down to us in different Recensions. According to the hand-writings in which they have come down to us, they have been styled by German scholars the Bengali, Devanagari, Kashmiri, and South Indian Recensions. They differ considerably from each other and, as it seems, are none of them older than the sixteenth century. It is supposed that the original is irrecoverably lost. It was the Bengali Recension that Sir William Jones used. The story of the play is well known and need not be repeated here.

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* Some eminent Sanscrit scholars in Germany, however, seem to be of opinion that as a work of dramatic art the *Mrichchhakatika* (मृच्छकटिकम्) is a superior performance.

The Hindu play, as Wilson has pointed out, belongs to that class of dramatic composition which modern critics have agreed to term romantic, as opposed to what some schools have been pleased to call classical. And Hindu dramatists show as little regard for the unities of time and place as for the unity of action, if by the unity of action be meant singleness of incident. We may repeat here in respect of Kalidasa's drama what Raleigh says about the drama of Shakespeare. "The day for discussing the notorious unities in connection with Shakespeare's drama is long past. Romantic poetry created its own drama, and acknowledges no unity save that which is equally binding on a poem or a prose-story—the unity of impression" (Shakespeare by Walter Raleigh, English Men of Letters Series, 1911, p. 125). This fact has also not escaped the notice of one of the greatest of dramatic critics that ever lived. Says Schlegel : "Die liebliche Sakuntala, bei dem fremden klimatischen Colorit, im Bau des Ganzen, hat eine so auffallende Aehnlichkeit mit unserem romantischen Schauspiel, dass man argwöhnen sollte, der englische Uebersetzer Jones habe aus Vorliebe für den Shakespeare auf diese Aehnlichkeit hingearbeitet, wenn nicht

andere Gelehrte seine Treue bestätigten"* (August Wilhelm von Schlegel, Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur, 3. Ausgabe, 1. Teil, Leipzig, 1826, S. 26). In fact, not only is the whole tone and atmosphere of Kalidasa's play Shakesperean, but his heroine also resembles in some striking features one of Shakespeare's heroines.

Sakuntala, like Miranda, was born a princess and, like her, had been brought up in the woods. Both of them secretly fell in love with a prince, afterwards approved in each case by the legal guardian. But here the parallel almost ceases. For, in the case of Miranda, her union with Ferdinand makes her the queen of Naples, and fetches her the dukedom of Milan into the bargain, besides restoring her to happiness and good fortune ; while Sakuntala's marriage with Dushmanta leads her, though she was the rightful queen of India, only to new trials and

* Notwithstanding the colouring of a foreign climate, "Sakuntala" bears in its general structure such a striking resemblance to our romantic drama, that one might almost suspect that the English translator Jones, through his partiality for Shakespeare, has himself worked out this similarity, if only other scholars had not testified to his fidelity (to the original).

misfortunes. The fidelity and resignation with which she submits to her lot cannot but excite our admiration, and these have always been regarded as the traditional virtues of ideal womanhood in India. It is just here, one feels inclined to think, that Sakuntala is lovelier than the "admir'd Miranda."*

Sakuntala was translated into German by George Forster in the year 1791 from the English version of Jones. It is impossible to form at this distance of time any idea of the enthusiasm evoked by this translation in Germany. Men like Herder and Goethe welcomed it with open arms. In 1803, Herder brought out a second edition of Forster's translation, and in the introduction dedicated enthusiastic eulogies to the drama of Kalidasa. Goethe's well-known lines, so often quoted, will once more bear repetition here :

Willst du die Blüte des frühen, die
Früchte des späteren Jahres,
Willst du, was reizt und entzückt, willst
du, was sättigt und nährt,

* For a comparative character-study of the two plays here alluded to, see "Les Héroines de Kalidasa et les Héroines de Shakespeare", by Mary Summer, Paris, 1879, p. 109 ff.

Willst du den Himmel, die Erde mit
Einem Namen begreifen,
Nenn' ich, Sakontala, dich, und so ist
alles gesagt.
—*Written bet. May 17 & July 1, 1791.*

'Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms
and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed,
enraptured, feasted, fed ?
Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in
one sole name combine ?
I name thee, O S´akoontalā ! and all
at once is said.
—*E. B. Eastwick.*

Schiller wrote to Humboldt, "dass es im ganzen griechischen Altertum keine poetische Darstellung schöner Weiblichkeit oder schöner Liebe gibt, die nur von ferne an die Sakuntala reichte" (Winternitz, Gesch. der ind. Lit. Bd. III S. 215 Anm.),* and began dramatizing Forster's edition of the play (Vide Schiller's Thalia, Bd. III, 1791 S. 72).

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* In the whole range of Grecian antiquity, there is no poetical representation of beautiful womanhood or of beautiful love that could even remotely compare with "Sakuntala".

"It is a fact worth noting, that the beginning of one of the most famous of modern European dramas has been modelled on that of a celebrated Sanskrit play. The prelude of Sakuntala suggested to Goethe the plan of the prologue on the stage in *Faust*, where the stage-manager, the merryandrew, and the poet converse regarding the play about to be performed." (Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature p. 416).

Several attempts were made to adapt the play of Kalidasa to the German stage with little or no success. The reasons are obvious. The very first condition of success in such a case is that one must altogether withdraw oneself from one's present surroundings and place oneself in the position of an Indian ; that is to say, one must, for the time being, believe in everything in which the Indian believes—in the power of a curse, in the easiest of communications between heaven and earth, in all the wonders of disappearance and reappearance in the holy woods.

The circumstances which led to Jones's trans lation of *Sakuntala* are briefly as follows. Jones was under the impression that the *Nātakas* of which Père Pons spoke in his letter of Nov. 23,

1740 (see p. 70 above), contained a genuine history of India before its invasion from the north. So on his arrival in India he tried to get hold of these *Nātakas*. But for some time all his endeavours were in vain. He was told that the *Nātakas* were not histories but full of fables, and that they consisted of conversations in prose and verse, held before ancient kings in their public assemblies. Some Europeans thought that they were probably discourses on dancing, music, and poetry. At last a certain Brahmin gave him a pleasant surprise by telling him that the English people also had similar compositions which were represented publicly in Calcutta during the winter months. On his inquiry after the most famous of these *Nātakas*, the Brahmin named *Sakuntata*. "I soon procured", says Jones, "a copy of it ; and assisted by my teacher Ramlochan, began with translating it verbally into Latin, which bears so great a resemblance to Sanscrit, that it is more convenient than any modern language for a scrupulous interlineary version : I then turned it word for word into English, and afterwards without adding or suppressing any material sentence, disengaged it from the stiffness of a foreign idiom, and

prepared the faithful translation of the Indian drama, which I now present to the Public, as a most pleasing and authentic picture of old Hindu manners and one of the greatest curiosities that the literature of Asia has yet brought to light."

Jones's long preface to his English version of *Sakuntala* from which the above lines are quoted amply repays a perusal. He does not offer any criticism either on the characters or on the conduct of the play, for the simple reason that tastes are different. But he remarks that "if Sacontala should ever be acted in India, where alone it could be acted with perfect knowledge of Indian dresses, manners and scenery, the piece might easily be reduced to five acts of a moderate length, by throwing the third act into the second and the sixth into the fifth ; for it must be confessed that the whole of Dushmanta's conversation with his buffoon, and a great part of his courtship in the hermitage, might be omitted without any injury to the drama."

It is not definitely known when Jones came by a copy of *Sakuntala*. The first mention of the drama in his printed correspondence is in a

letter of 1788 (date and month not given), but the translation had been nearly finished then (Memoirs, p. 318). In his letter to Sir Joseph Banks, dated October 18, 1791 (Memoirs, p. 345), we read that the authenticity of the poem was first doubted in England.

The MSS. of both his Latin and English translations (see p. 101 above) are preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. At the end of the MSS. is to be found the following remark: "This translation was finished in my gardens on the Ganges, Aug. 17, 1788. Will. Jones." The original Sanscrit text, however, was not made available to the European public till it was edited (with a French translation and copious philological, critical and literary notes) by Prof. Chézy, Paris, 1830. Chézy also appended to his work the episode of Sakuntala (शकुन्तलोपाख्यानम्) in original Sanscrit from the Mahabharata followed by a Persian and a French translation respectively.

Prof.Chézy sent a copy of his edition of *Sakuntala* to Goethe. In acknowledging with thanks the receipt of the book, Goethe, then an old man of eighty, wrote to Chézy, on October I, 1830, *inter alia*, as follows :

"The very first time that I became aware of this unfathomable work, it excited in me such an enthusiasm and attracted me in such a manner that I could not cease studying it again and again. Yes, indeed, I felt myself called upon to undertake the impossible task of adapting it to the German stage, even if only imperfectly. ....I realise only now the profound impression that this work had made upon me at that time. Here appears to us the poet in his highest role as the exponent of the most natural condition, of the finest habits, of the purest moral endeavours, of the worthiest majesty, and of the most earnest contemplation of God : but at the same time he remains to such an extent the lord and master of his creation, that he even ventures to risk vulgar and ridiculous contrasts which, however, must be regarded as the necessary connecting-links in the whole scheme of things." (For the German original of this letter, refer to Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Band III. p. 214).

In view of the fact that Jones's translation of *Sakuntala* had such a tremendous influence upon European scholarship and produced such far-reaching results as those noted above, it may

be interesting to examine it a little more closely. But before doing that it is well to remember that a Sanscrit drama has certain peculiarities of its own. In every Sanscrit drama the women and the inferior characters speak dialects, called Prākrita, while the hero and the higher male characters speak in classical Sanscrit. Moreover, almost half of what the chief male characters say is in verse. "Indeed the prose part of their speeches is often very common-place, only introductory to the lofty sentiment of the poetry that follows." The metrical system in Sanscrit is very rich and elaborate. For instance, the first thirty-four verses of *Sakuntala* exhibit eleven different Sanscrit metres.

These peculiarities of the Sanscrit drama with its Prākrita and pure Sanscrit speeches in prose and verse, and with its rich variety of metres, produce naturally a certain cumulative effect which it is almost impossible to retain in a translation. But even apart from this, Jones's version is *all* in prose, and does not distinguish the Prākrita passages from the Sanscrit nor the prose portions from the verse. He has, however, on the whole, scrupulously adhered to the text and, in spite of some errors, which seem

to have arisen from various causes, Jones's work must be said to have been an excellent success. A comparison of Jones's version with the original shows that some of the errors are due to apparent inattention in the matter of the use of verbs and adverbs, and some are the result of ignorance of Indian customs, while still others follow from the difficulty of understanding humour and irony in Sanscrit. A minute and exhaustive enumeration of all the errors will serve no useful purpose. I shall, therefore, point out only the more important deviations from the original text, which may be broadly classified as follows :

(1) Omissions.

(2) Additions and amplifications.

(3) Alterations in the sense of the text, probably deliberate.

(4) Alterations in the sense of the text, probably due to imperfect understanding.

It has been stated above that Jones used the Bengali Recension of the play in translating *Sakuntala*. As a matter of fact, it was not even suspected at the time that the drama was preserved in more than one text-form. But as more MSS. were discovered later on, it was found that the Devanāgari text differed

considerably from the Bengali text ; that the Kashmiri text resembled the latter, though it presented certain peculiarities of its own ; while the South Indian texts came nearer to the Devanāgari than the other two, although they too in their turn were not without important variants. Scholars are not unanimous in their opinion as to the relative merits of the different Recensions, though the Devanāgari is generally held to be the oldest. There is, however, a tendency now in favour of constructing " a definitive text of the play " by a free and diligent comparison of all the available materials without tying oneself down to any particular Recension. (Vide "The Text of the Sakuntala," a paper read at the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, by B. K. Thakore, published by D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay, 1922).

A very careful edition of the Bengali Recension was brought out by Richard Pischel, Kiel, 1877. In the following pages the references are all to this edition and to Jones's Works, Vol. VI, London, 1799. (A second revised edition of Pischel's "Sakuntala" was brought out by Prof. Lanman in 1922 in the Harvard Oriental Series).

1. Omissions.

There are not many cases of omissions. The few instances that occur seem, however, to have been deliberate and almost in each case the reason may be given with tolerable certainty. I shall indicate the passages here.

Jones, Works Vol. VI, p. *224*, after the word "breathing" in l. 17 should be inserted the following passage :

"a net of drops of perspiration, impeding (the play of) the Sirīsha in her ears, has formed upon her face."

N.B. The "Sirīsha" is a flower used by young girls as an ornament for the ear. The drops of perspiration caused it to stick to the cheeks and so it could not play about.

The line occurs in a verse (Pischel p. 24, l. 7) where the King describes the fatigue of Sakuntala due to watering the plants. Jones probably did not like to see drops of sweat on the face of young ladies.

The same is the case in p. *229* where, in l. 29, after "him", he omits the words "untouched even by the slightest traces of perspiration". This is a verse (Pischel, stanza 37) to the glorification of hunting (see below p. 123).

In p. 240 l. 14, after the word "parched" should be added the words "her bosom has lost its firmness". In this stanza (No. 64, Pischel, p. 51) the king describes the debility noticeable in Sakuntala and is happy that it is such as is said to be caused by love-sickness. These words are omitted probably either on grounds of decency or because Jones thought this might be a strange idea to an English reader.

In p. 242 l. 13, after "refusal" is to be added the following passage (Pischel, p. 54 ll. 12-13):

"He who seeks Fortune, may find her or may not find her. But is it possible that Fortune does not find him whom she loves ? (i.e. Fortune always finds him whom she loves).

In the original (Pischel, p. 54) there are two stanzas, Nos. 68 and 69, one immediately following upon the other, both of which have almost the same sense in the beginning. Jones omits, however, the second half of the first stanza, while he translates the second wrongly. The reason for the omission is not obvious. This is a difficult stanza and has often been incorrectly interpreted.

In p. 246 l. 4 after "aside" and before "one" should be put in these lines :

"In spite of their own ardent desires, (the maidens) are reluctant to fulfil the prayers of their lovers ; even when longing for the pleasures of union, they are timid to offer their bodies." (Pischel, stanza 79 p. 61 ll. 5-6)

Jones may have omitted these lines on grounds of decency.

Also in translating stanza 167, Pischel, p. 133, Jones omits the words "perspiring fingers" (p. 289 ll. 10-15). Only in one place, in translating ll. 12-13 Pischel, p. 132, Jones has retained the words "a few bright drops on her face" (p. 289 l. 7), which drops are no other than drops of perspiration. It is too well-known that owing to the great heat, sweating is a very common phenomenon in India and cannot be avoided even with the best of intentions.

2. Additions and amplifications.

Instances of additions and amplifications are more numerous than those of omissions, although they are mostly of minor importance and seem to have been effected with the object of making the sense clearer to the English reader. In a few cases Jones has attempted to indulge in didactic and philosophical reflections which are

rather out of place and have little or nothing to do with the context. Some of the more important additions and amplifications are noted below.

Pischel, p. 15 stanza 21 is translated by Jones as follows :

Dushmanta (aside) : I fear she is of the same religious order with her foster-father. Or has a mistaken apprehension risen in my mind ? My warm heart is so attached to her that she cannot but be a fit match for a man of the military class. The doubts which awhile perplex the good, are soon removed by the prevalence of their strong inclinations. I am enamoured of her ; and she cannot, therefore, be the daughter of a Brahmin whom I could not marry (p. 219 ll. 7-1 from below).

In the above lines the passage "My warm heart.........inclinations" is the translation of the stanza in question. Everything else is added as explanation. Sakuntala was known as the daughter of the sage Kanva who was a Brahmin and as such she could not be married by King Dushmanta of the military caste. Hence these reflections in the king's mind.

Page 249 ll. 4-5. "Now I see a prince who keeps his word as it becomes his imperial

character." The correct translation of the passage should be : "Now I have got back my natural eyesight" (Pischel, p. 66, l. 8). The context is this : the dust of some flower flew into the eye of Sakuntala and the king cleared it by the air of his mouth.

This is probably a case both of omission and addition and not one of false translation. Sakuntala feared that once the king's lips were so near to her face, he would not let it go without a kiss. This led Jones to put these words into her mouth.

Page 251 l. 8. "One doubt gives me particular care." These words are not in the text (see Pischel, p. 70, l. 3). But the idea is there.

Page 251 ll. 5-4 (from below). "Because he could desire nothing better than that a husband so accomplished should take Sacontala by the hand."

As in the previous case, the idea is present but the words are not in the text (see Pischel, p. 71, l. 3).

Page 253 ll. 1-2. "and my religious duties must not be postponed." Not in the text (see Pischel, p. 72, l. 15).

Page 260 ll. 20-21. The Madhavi-creeper "whose red blossoms inflame the grove." The words within inverted commas are not in the text (see Pischel, p. 85, l. 4). They are added to give the English reader some idea of the plant.

Page 261 ll. 5—2 (from below). In thy passage over this earth, where the paths are now high, now low, "and the true path seldom distinguished," the traces of thy feet must needs be unequal; "but virtue will press thee right onward." The words within inverted commas are not in the text (see Pischel, p. 87, ll. 3—7) and are caused only by false translation (see below pp. 137-38).

Page 263 ll. 19—22. "Know also with certainty, that the body must necessarily, at the appointed moment, be separated from the soul; who, then, can be immoderately afflicted, when the weaker bonds of extrinsick relations are loosened, or even broken." These didactic reflections are added to the translation of Pischel, stanza 114, page 90. They are not in the text, nor are they very relevant here.

Page 268 l. 10. "It is too deep for me."

These words are not in the text (see Pischel p. 96 1. 4) but may be inferred from the context. The king and the Vidushaka listen to some music and the latter inquires whether the former understands it.

Page 268 ll. 15-16. "I cannot relish your commission to an enraged woman."

These words, which are added to the Vidushaka's speech to the king, are not in the text (see Pischel, p. 96, l. 10). The king asks his buffoon to go an errand to the offended queen but "the fool" expresses his fear as above.

Page 269 l. 22. "What our sovereign imagines cannot possibly have happened."

Jones makes the warder begin his speech with these words which are not in the text (see Pischel, p. 98, ll. 7-8). But they fit in with the context all right.

Page 275 ll. 9-12. "You kings are in all cases to be credited implicitly: you perfectly know the respect which is due to virtue and to mankind; while females, however modest, however virtuous, know nothing, and speak nothing truly." (Cp. below p. 164, Sakuntala's speech).

Page 286 ll. 8-7 (from below). "Events which were foredoomed by heaven must not be lamented."

This is partly free paraphrase and partly addition (see Pischel, p. 128, l. 9).

Page 295 ll. 18-19. "How should he correct their manners, when his own are uncorrected ?"

This passage is added to the translation of stanza 180, Pischel, p. 144, in which the king laments that, on account of his lapses, even his palace was going to be infested with evil spirits.

Page 299 ll. 15-16. "When he confounded the proud Vali."

These words are not literally in the text which, however, alludes to this mythological incident (Pischel, p. 149, l. 19).

Page 307 ll. 17-18. "Since the anguish of my soul has partly ceased."

This passage is not in the text (Pischel, p. 163, stanza 211) nor does the idea follow from the context.

Page 312 ll. 6-7. "In this perishable world, the seat of crimes and of punishment." Not in the text (see Pischel, p. 170, stanza 221).

I conclude these chapters on omissions and additions with one more illustration, viz., Pischel, page 11, lines 5-15, which Jones (see p. 218, ll. 1-10) translates as follows :

Dushmanta (aside) : "Admirably spoken, Priyambada ! No ; her charms cannot be hidden, even though a robe of intertwisted fibres be thrown over her shoulders, and conceal a part of her bosom, like a veil of yellow leaves enfolding a radiant flower. The waterlily, though dark moss may settle on its head, is nevertheless beautiful ; and the moon with dewy beams is rendered yet brighter by its black spots. The bark itself acquires elegance from the features of a girl with antelope's eyes, and rather augments than diminishes my ardour. Many are the rough stalks which support the water-lily ; but many and exquisite are the blossoms which hang on them."

Now let us place side by side with this version of Jones a literal translation of the passage, and the discrepancies will be at once clear.

King : She speaks truly.

This youthful body of hers, on account of the bark-dress being fastened with delicate knots

upon her shoulders covering the circumference of her two breasts, does not exhibit its own charms, like a flower enveloped by a calix of brown leaves.

Or granted that the bark-dress is unfitted for her age, yet it does really possess (lit. does not not possess) the charms of an embellishment. Because,

the lotus, though intertwined with the "saivala" is charming ; the spot, though dark, heightens (lit. extends) the beauty of the moon ; this graceful (lit. slim) one even with her bark-dress is more lovely ; for what is not an embellishment of sweet forms !

N. B. The "Saivala" is an aquatic plant which thrives in ponds and interweaves itself with the lotus.

3. Alterations in the sense and in the order of the text, probably deliberate.

Jones translates stanza 22 (Pischel, p. 16 ll. 1-4) as follows :

How often have I seen our court-damsels affectedly turn their heads aside from some roving insect, merely to display their graces ; but this rural charmer knits her brows and

gracefully moves her eyes through fear only without art or affectation (p. 220, ll. 3-6).

The literal translation should be like this :

Her very lovely eyes always turn away from that direction where the bee flies ; bending her brows through fear, she is already learning even unwittingly the coquettish movements of the eye.

The stanza might have been partly misunderstood. One almost sees a European colouring in Jones's version of the expression.

Pischel, p. 39, l. 12 Jones (p. 232, ll. 4-3 from below) translates as follows :

Madhavya. Has she thus taken possession of your heart on so transient a view ?

Correct : Madhavya. Is it really to be expected that she should seat herself on your lap as soon as seen ?

Jones probably thought the literal version not quite decent. But the Vidushaka or "the fool" was attached to the king's person to keep him in good humour by light-hearted jokes.

Pischel, p.66, ll. 10-13, Jones (p.249, ll. 7-12) translates as follows :

Dushm. What reward can I desire, except that which I consider as the greatest, the fragrance of your delicious lip ?

Sacontala. Will that content you ?

Dushm. The bee is contented with the mere odour of the waterlily.

Sacontala. If he were not, he would get no remedy.

The king. Yes, this and this—
(kissing her eagerly).

Correct version :

King. O fair one, what else (could I expect) ?

As for reward, it (is enough) that your fragrant mouth has been smelt by me. Is not the bee satisfied only with the scent of the lotus ?

Sakuntala. In case he were not satisfied, what could he do ?

King. This and this (he kisses her energetically)

Jones does not so much alter the sense as the order of the text : the king's first speech, which is in verse, is broken up into two speeches and Sakuntala is made to put a question in between —"Will that content you ?" The last speech of Sakuntala is an interrogation, to which the king's kissing her is meant to be the reply ; but Jones makes it assertive, which spoils the dramatic effect.

4. Alterations in the sense probably due to imperfect understanding of the text.

N. B. In this section appear also some passages which might be called cases of free translation by Jones and not of imperfect understanding of the text.

Page 213, ll. 9—6 (from below). Now, through the fear of a descending shaft, he contracts his forehand, and extends his flexible haunches ; and now, through fatigue, he pauses to nibble the grass in his path with his mouth half opened.

Correct. Now through fear of the descent of a shaft, he contracts together the hind-half of his body almost into the fore-half ; he strews his path with half-chewed grass falling from his mouth opened with fatigue.

The picture is that of a stag flying before the hunter. (Pischel p. 4, stanza 7 ll. 2-3.).

Page 217, ll. 6-9. Anusuya. O my Sacontala, it is in thy society that the trees of our father Canna seem to me delightful ; it well becomes thee, who art soft as the fresh-blown Mallica, to fill with water the canals which have been dug round these tender shrubs.

Correct. Anusūyā. My dear Sakuntala, I think, the plants in the hermitage are dearer to father Kanva even than thyself ; for thou hast been employed to fill their trenches, although thou art thyself tender as the petal of the Navamallika flower (Pischel, p. 9, ll. 10-12, Prākrita passage).

Page 220, ll. 3-1 (from below).

Dushm. (approaching her). Damsel, may thy devotion prosper !

(Sacontala looks on the ground, bashful and silent).

Anu. Our guest must be received with due honours.

Correct. King (approaching Sakuntala). Do your devotional rites prosper ?

(Sakuntala looks down with bashfulness).

Anusūyā. (They do), now by the arrival of a distinguished guest.

The humour, though very respectful, in Anusūyā's reply is missed by Jones. The king's speech must be in the interrogative. As king, it was his duty to see that the religious rites were not disturbed. (Pischel, p. 17, l. 13—p. 18 l. 1, Anusūyā speaks Prākrita).

Page 223, ll. 17-23. Why should you muse

on it so long ? (Aside). One would think this religious man was forbidden by his vows to court a pretty woman.

Dushm. This I ask. Is the strict rule of a hermit so far to be observed by Canna, that he cannot dispose of his daughter in marriage, but must check the natural impulse of juvenile love ? Can she (oh preposterous fate !) be destined to reside for life among her favourite antelopes, the black lustre of whose eyes is far surpassed by hers ?

Correct. Priyamvadā. Therefore, surely, no use deliberating. Hermits are indeed persons to whom unrestricted commands may be given.

King. I ask this :

Is this monastic vow, opposed to the ways of love, to be observed by her until she is given in marriage, or on the contrary, is she to live to the end (of her life) along with the female deer, her favourites on account of having eyes like her own ? (Pischel, p. 22, ll. 6-12, stanza 26). Priyamvadā speaks Prākrita.

N. B. No wonder that after this hunting became impossible for the king, who saw in the eyes of every doe only a reflex of Sakuntala's eyes.

Page 229 ll. 7-2 (from below).

General (aside, looking at Dushm.). How comes it that hunting, which moralists reckon a vice, should be a virtue in the eyes of a king? Thence it is, no doubt, that our emperor, occupied in perpetual toil, and inured to constant heat, is become so lean that the sunbeams hardly affect him; while he is so tall, that he looks to us little men, like an elephant grazing on a mountain: he seems all soul.

Correct. General (aside, looking at the king). How comes it that, though observed to have evil effects, hunting has proved only an advantage in (the case of) our master! As for instance, our lord,

who has to do the hard work of incessantly drawing the bow-string, is patient of the rays of the sun, and untouched even by the slightest traces of perspiration, exhibits, like a mountain-roving elephant, a body, which is the very essence of life, though losing in bulk, yet not noticeable as such on account of its muscular development. (Pischel p. 34 ll. 5-10 stanza 37).

N. B. Compare page 108 above.

Page 233 l. 2 (from below)—p. 234 l. 7.

First Brahmin (looking at the king). Oh!

what confidence is inspired by his brilliant appearance ! Or proceeds it rather from his disposition to virtue and holiness ? Whence comes it, that my fear vanishes ? He now has taken his abode in a wood which supplies us with every enjoyment ; and with all his exertions for our safety, his devotion increases from day to day. The praise of a monarch who has conquered his passions ascends even to heaven : inspired bards are continually singing, "Behold a virtuous prince !" but with us the royal name stands first : "Behold, among kings, a sage."

Correct. The one (looking at the king). Oh, the confidence (inspired by the sight) of his person, majestic though (it be). Or this is but natural in a king who is almost like a Ṛshi[1] himself ; because,

by him too residence has been taken up in an āśrama[2] which is open to all for enjoyment. He too gleans (the fruit of) penance everyday through his engagement in protection. Of him also, who has perfectly subdued his senses, the sacred title of Muni[3], but only preceded by Rājan[3], repeatedly ascends to heaven, sung by pairs of bards. (Pischel p. 41 ll. 6-11, stanza 48).

Notes : (1) A Ṛshi (ऋषि) is a sage, a hermit.

(2) Here is a play upon the word āśrama (आश्रम) which means (1) a hermitage, (2) the different stages of life ; such as, student-life, married life etc.

(3) Muni preceded by rājan = rājarshi (राजर्षि) i. e. a king who is at the same time also a sage by the purity of his character.

Page 236 ll. 11-14. Madh. That I will ;—but you could not really suppose that I was afraid of demons !

Dushm. How come you, who are an egregious Brahmana, to be so bold on a sudden ?

Correct. Vidushaka. Hallo, don't think me to be afraid of the Rākshasas.

King (smiling). Hallo, great Brahmin, how can that be possible in you !

N. B. The Rākshasas were fabulous man-eating demons of whom the Vidushaka was very afraid. He is inwardly happy that the king sends him away. The king's speech is ironical. (Pischel p. 45 ll. 1-2. The Vidushaka speaks Prākrita).

Page 237 ll. 3-1 (from below).

(Dushmanta enters expressing the distraction of a lover).

Dushm. I well know the power of her devotion : that she will suffer none to dispose of her but Canna, I too well know. Yet my heart can no more return to its former placid state, than water can reascend the steep down which it has fallen.

Correct. King (sighing thoughtfully). I know the efficacy of penance ; it is (also) known to me that that maiden is subject to another. But as water does not turn back from the valley, so does not my heart from her (Sakuntala). (Pischel p. 47 ll. 1-2 stanza 54).

Note. The king apparently means that in case he attempts to possess Sakuntala by force or stealth, Kanva would destroy him by a curse. Jones misses this point when he says "I well know the power of *her* devotion."

Page 238 ll. 11-18. Yet this god, who bears a fish on his banners, and who wounds me to the soul, will give me real delight, if he destroy me with the aid of my beloved, whose eyes are large and beautiful as those of a roe.—O powerful divinity, even when I thus adore thy attributes, hast thou no

compassion? Thy fire, O Love, is fanned into a blaze by a hundred of my vain thoughts.—Does it become thee to draw thy bow even to thy ear, that the shaft, aimed at my bosom, may inflict a deeper wound?

Correct. Or the fish-bannered (god of love), even though incessantly bringing mental anguish (would be) welcome to me, provided he strikes me in respect of that (maiden) with long and fascinating eyes.

Oh God, you have no compassion on me even when I thus rebuke you!

In vain, indeed, oh bodiless (god of love), have you perpetually been brought by me to much growth by means of hundreds of vows. Is it becoming of you, drawing your bow to your very ear, (to) discharge (your) arrows even upon me (your votary)? (Pischel p. 47 l. 15—p. 48 l. 4 stanzas 57-58).

Page 239 ll. 9-11. Both (fanning her). Say beloved Sacontala, does the breeze, raised by our fans of broad lotos leaves, refresh you?

Sacontala (mournfully). Why, alas, do my dear friends take this trouble?

(Both look sorrowfully at each other).

Correct. The two friends (fanning her).

Dear Sakuntala, does the breeze of the lotus-leaves appear refreshing to you ?

Sakuntala (mournfully). Are you fanning me, dear friends ?

(The friends look at each other sorrowfully) (Pischel p. 49 ll. 8-9 Prākrita).

Note. The dramatic effect of the two versions is very different. Her fever, due to love-sickness, is so great that she does not even feel that she is being fanned.

Page 241 ll. 20-21. Priya. (as before). Oh, to keep it secret will be easy ; but to attain it soon, almost insuperably difficult.

Correct. Priya. My friend, "secretly"—that is to be attempted ; "to attain it soon"—this is not at all difficult. (Pischel p. 53 l. 6. Prākrita).

Note. They are thinking of arranging a secret meeting between Sakuntala and the king.

Page 241 ll. 5-2 (from below). This golden bracelet, sullied by the flame which preys on me, and which no dew mitigates, but the tears gushing nightly from these eyes, has fallen again and again on my wrist, and has been replaced on my emaciated arm.

Correct. King. This golden bracelet, with its jewels sullied by the tears rendered hotter on account of the inward fever (and) flowing night after night down the outward corner of my eye which rests on my arm, is repeatedly pushed back by me, each time it slips down, from the wrist where the scars caused by the friction of the bow-string are not very prominent. (Pischel p. 53 ll. 11-14 stanza 67).

Note. This indicates that the king has given up hunting.

Page 241 l. 1 (from below)—p. 242 l. 2.

Priya. (Aloud). I have a thought, Anusuya. Let us write a love-letter, which I will conceal in a flower, and, under the pretext of making a respectful offering, deliver it myself into the king's hand.

Correct. Priya. (deliberating). Friend, now a love-letter should be prepared by her. I shall conceal it among flowers and make it reach the hands of the king under the pretext of offering him blessings of the gods. (Pischel p. 54, ll. 1-3. Prākrita).

Note. It is a usual religious custom in India that the priest, after he has finished worshipping a deity, takes some of *the flowers used in the*

worship and distributes them amongst those whom he means to bless, in each case uttering some formulas. Such flowers are called *nirmālyam* (निर्म्माल्यम्) । The error in the translation here may have been due to the ignorance of Indian customs.

Page 242 ll. 13-16. Dushm. Here stands the man, from whom, O beautiful maid, thou fearest rejection, though he loves thee distractedly. He who shall possess thee will seek no brighter gem ; and thou art the gem which I am eager to possess.

Correct. King. Here stands before thee longing for thy love, the man from whom, oh thou round-thighed one (lit. a woman whose thighs resemble the trunk of an elephant), thou fearest a repulse of thy affection, which is not to be apprehended. A jewel does not itself seek (a possessor), but is sought for (Pischel p. 54 ll. 14-17 stanza 69. See also p. 109 above).

Page 243 ll. 19-21. Priya. But, O mighty prince, as I am favoured by you and by her, my friendship for Sacontala prompts me to converse with you for a few moments.

Correct. Priya. Oh illustrious sir, the mutual affection of both of you is obvious. Yet

love for my friend makes me speak something superfluous. (Pischel p. 56 ll. 14-15 Prākrita).

Page 243 ll. 25-27. Priya. By dispelling the alarms of our pious hermits, you have discharged the duty of a great monarch.

Dush. Oh, talk a little on other subjects.

Correct. Priya. Is it not indeed the law that the king should remove the affliction of those living in the hermitage ?

King. What can indeed be higher than that? (Pischel p. 57 ll. 4-6 Priya. speaks Prākrita).

Page 244 ll. 4-7. King. This heart of mine, oh thou who art of all things dearest to it, will have no object but thee, whose eyes enchant me with their black splendour, if thou wilt but speak in a milder strain. I, who was nearly slain by love's arrow, am destroyed by thy speech.

Correct. King. Oh thou that art near to my heart, if this heart of mine which is devoted to no other, thou judgest to be otherwise, (then) O fascinating-eyed one, being already slain by Love's arrows, I am slain again ! (Pischel p. 57 ll. 13-16 stanza 74).

Page 244 ll. 8-10. Anusuya (laughing). Princes are said to have many favourite consorts. You must assure us, therefore, that our beloved friend

shall not be exposed to affliction through our conduct.

Correct. Anusūyā. Oh illustrious prince, kings are known as having many wives. You will, therefore, do so that this our dear friend may not have to be pitied by her kinsmen. (Pischel p. 58 ll. 1-2 Prākrita).

Note. With Anusūyā it was a serious matter. "Laughing" is out of the question here.

Page 244 ll. 20-27. Sacontala (to the damsels). Forgive, I pray, my offence in having used unmeaning words : they were uttered only for your amusement in return of your tender care of me.

Priya. They were the occasion, indeed, of our serious advice. But it is the king who must forgive : who else is offended ?

Sac. The great monarch will, I trust, excuse what has been said either before him or in his absence. (Aside to the damsels) Intercede with him, I entreat you.

Correct. Sakuntala. Friends, make the king forgive what we, talking in confidence, have said transgressing decorum.

Both (smiling). She alone who has uttered it

should make him (the king) forgive. Where is the risk of others ?

Sakuntala. Oh great prince, it behoves you to excuse this word uttered in your presence. What is not said behind one's back ? (Pischel p. 58 ll. 9-14 Prākrita).

Page 249 ll. 3-2 (from below).

Sac. (aside, rising slowly). O my heart, no sooner hadst thou begun to taste happiness, than the occasion slipped away.

Correct. Sakuntala (rising slowly, aside). Oh my heart, when the object of desire presented itself easily for the very first time, you wasted the time. Now feel the consequence of thy action. (Pischel p. 67 ll. 11-12 Prākrita).

Page 252 ll. 10-12. Priya. Let us hasten thither. Sacontala is now reposing ; but though we may, when she wakes, enjoy her presence, yet her mind will all day be absent with her departed lord.

Correct. Priya. Well, Sakuntala is present in the cottage. (Thinking over) But verily at this moment not present in mind. (Pischel p. 71 ll. 13-15 Prākrita)

Page 253 ll. 4-6. Anusuya. His wrath, my beloved, passes all bounds.—Who living could

now appease him by the humblest prostrations or entreaties ?

Correct. Anusūyā. My friend, like anger in flesh and blood, whose entreaties does he accept ? (Pischel p. 73 ll. 1-2 Prākrita).

Page 254 ll. 4-1 (from below).

Anusuya (aside). Such has been the affection of Sacontala, though she was bred in austere devotion, averse from sensual enjoyments ! How unkind was the king to leave her.

Correct. Anusūyā (aside). It has struck even me who am withdrawn from the worldly concerns that something ignoble has been done towards Sakuntala by that king. (Pischel p. 75 ll. 15-17 Prākrita).

Page 255 ll. 3-1 (from below). Since the pious act of my pupil has prospered, my fosterchild must not be suffered any longer to languish in sorrow.

Correct. Like knowledge received by a good pupil, you are not to be deplored by me. (Pischel p. 77 ll. 11-12 Prākrita).

Page 257 ll. 6-7. Gautamī. My child, thou canst not pronounce too often the word goddess : thus wilt thou procure great felicity for thy lord.

Correct. Gautamī. My child, mayst thou win the title of *devī* (chief queen), which will indicate the great esteem of thy husband. (Pischel p. 79 l. 14 Prākrita).

Note. *Devī* means (1) a goddess, (2) a queen.

Page 257 ll. 14-17. Anusuya. Now you must be patient, whilst I bind on a charm to secure your happiness.

Sacontala. That is kind. Much has been decided this day; and the pleasure of being thus attended by my sweet friends will not soon return.

Correct. The two friends. Our friend, you should keep yourself straight, while we perform your sacred anointment.

Sakuntala. Though it is customary, to-day it is highly valued, inasmuch as the act of being decorated again by my dear friends will be difficult for me. (Pischel p. 80 ll. 4-7 Prākrita).

Page 257 l. 3 (from below). Gautami. What dost thou mean ?

Correct. Gautamī. Has it been produced by his will-power ? (Pischel p. 81 l. 1 Prākrita).

Note. Gautamī could hardly believe the news that the sylvan deities had presented a precious dress for Sakuntala.

Page 258 ll. 10-12. Gautami. The nymphs must have been commissioned by the goddess of the king's fortune, to predict the accession of brighter ornaments in his palace.

Correct. Gautamī. By this favour, royal fortune is indicated as to be enjoyed by thee in the house of thy husband. (Pischel p. 81 ll. 10-11 Prākrita).

Page 258 ll. 16-17. Anusūyā. My sweet friend, I little expected so splendid a dress : how shall I adjust it properly ?

Correct. Anusūyā. My friend, how can I, who am unknown to ornaments, decorate you ? (Pischel p. 81 l. 14 Prākrita).

Page 258 l. 20. Sacontala. I well know your affection for him.

Correct. Saku. I know the skill of you two. (Pischel p. 82 l. 1 Prākrita).

Page 259 ll. 1-3 Gautami. My child, thy spiritual father, whose eyes overflow with tears of joy, stands desiring to embrace thee. Hasten therefore to do him reverence.

Correct. Gautamī. My child, here stands

close at hand thy spiritual father, as if embracing thee with eyes overflowing with joy. Perform now the customary salutation. (Pischel p. 82 ll. 11-12 Prākrita).

Page 260 ll. 5-8. Sarn.' Was that the voice of the cocila wishing a happy journey to Sacontala ?—Or did the nymphs who are allied to the pious inhabitants of these woods, repeat the warbling of the musical bird, and make its greeting their own ?

Correct. Śārngarava. (Acting as if he heard the note of the cuckoo). Your reverence,

this your Sakuntala is permitted to depart by the trees, the kinsmen of her forest home ; for the sweet note of the cuckoo just heard was employed by them as their answer. (Pischel p. 84 ll. 3-5 stanza 105).

Page 261 ll. 8-2 (from below). Canna. Thy tears, my child, ill suit the occasion : we shall all meet again : be firm : see the direct road before thee, and follow it. When the big tear lurks beneath thy beautiful eye-lashes, let thy resolution check its first efforts to disengage itself. In thy passage over this earth, where the paths are now high, now low, and the true path seldom distinguished, the traces of thy feet

must needs be unequal ; but virtue will press thee right onward.

Correct. Kanva. My child, away with weeping. Be steady. Keep your eye on the road here.

By strength of mind have the continuous flow of tears slackened, for it obstructs the operation of your eyes of which the eye-lashes are turned up. Your steps are indeed getting irregular on this path where you have not noticed the ups and downs on the ground. (Pischel p. 87 ll. 3-7 stanza 110). Also see p. 113 above.

Page 262 ll. 13-20. Considering us hermits as virtuous, indeed, but rich only in devotion, and considering also thy own exalted birth, retain thy love for this girl, which arose in thy bosom without any interference of thy kindred ; and look on her among thy wives with the same kindness which they experience : more than that cannot be demanded ; since particular affection must depend on the will of heaven.

Correct. Having well thought of us whose wealth is self-restraint and of your own exalted family, and also of that flow of affection of hers

towards you, which was by no means brought about by (her) relatives, she should be regarded by you (as) among (your) wives, after being raised to an equality of rank. More than this depends upon destiny ; nor indeed should that be asked for by the relatives of the wife. (Pischel p. 88 stanza 112).

N. B. This is Kanva's message to Dushmanta.

Page 264 ll. 14-15. Gautami. Go, venerable man, go back to thy mansion, from which she is doomed to be so long absent.

Correct. Or perhaps she will not suffer you to return even after a long time. So let your reverence return. (Pischel p. 91 l. 6 Prākrita).

Page 267 ll. 3-4. But kings who perform their duties conscientiously are afflicted without end.

Correct. But in the case of kings even the satisfaction is followed by pain. (Pischel p. 94 ll. 9).

Page 267 ll. 6-7. As a large umbrella, of which a man carries the staff in his own hand, fatigues while it shades him.

Correct. A kingdom does not make so much

for the removal of fatigue as for begetting fatigue, like an umbrella of which the handle is carried in one's own hand (Pischel p. 94 ll. 12-13 stanza 122 ll. 3-4).

Page 267 l. 19. Thy kindred possess, indeed, considerable wealth.

Correct. Be there kinsmen, when wealth is large (i. e. when one has wealth, there is no lack of friends—ironical). (Pischel p. 95 l. 3 stanza 124 l. 3).

Page 267 ll. 4-1 (from below). Madh. Listen, my royal friend. I hear a well-tuned Vina foundling, as if it were in concert with the lutes of the gods, from yonder apartment. The queen Hansamati is preparing, I imagine, to greet you with a new song.

Correct. Madh. [Listening] Oh my friend, turn thy ear towards the interior of the music-hall. The note of a well-tuned lute is heard. I suppose Her Highness Hansavatī is trying her hand at music. (Pischel p. 95 ll. 11-13 Prākrita).

Page 269 l. 3 (from below)—p. 270 l. 3.

Sarg. My friend Saradwata, there sits the king of men, who has felicity at command, yet shows equal respect to all : here no subject, even of the lowest class, is received with contempt.

Nevertheless, my soul having ever been free from attachment to worldly things, I consider this hearth, although a crowd now surround it, as the station merely of consecrated fire.

Correct. Sarg. Friend Śāradwata, granted that this illustrious prince swerves not from rectitude ; (and that) none of the classes, not even the lowest, follows evil ways, nevertheless with my mind, perpetually accustomed to solitude, I regard this crowded (palace) like a house enveloped in flames. (Pischel p. 98 stanza 128).

Page 271 l. 11 Dushm. (aside) The name of royalty produces, I suppose, all worldly advantages.

Correct. King (aside). Verily, my title Rājan (king) has become in every respect significant. (Pischel p. 100 l. 13)

N. B. The word rājan means literally one who makes (his subjects) happy.

Page 271 ll. 7-6 (from below). Gautami. Great king, thou hast a mild aspect ; and I wish to address thee in few words.

Correct. Gautamī. Oh gentle sir, I like to say something. (But) there is hardly any need for me to speak. (Pischel p. 101 l. 9 Prākrita).

N. B. This is in fact a case of omission. The second sentence is omitted. "Bhadramukha", literally one whose appearance inspires confidence, is used as a polite form of address, i. e., good sir.

Page 271 ll. 4-1 (from below). Gautami. She waited not the return of her spiritual father ; nor were thy kindred consulted by thee. You two only were present, when your nuptials were solemnized : now, therefore, converse freely together in the absence of all others.

Correct. Gautamī. She did not wait for her superiors nor did you consult (your) relatives ; it being settled mutually between you two, what have others to say to one (on behalf) of the other ? Pischel p. 101 ll. 13-14 stanza 134 Prākrita).

Page 272 l. 1 (from below)—page 273 l. 2.

Dushm. How then can I lay aside all consideration of my military tribe and admit into my palace a young woman who is pregnant by another husband ?

Correct. Dushm. How then can I accept her suspecting myself (thereby) to be an adulterer, as she bears manifest signs of being with child. (Pischel p. 103 l. 9).

N. B. Jones's MS. seems to have read in this passage Ksatriyam (क्षत्रियम्), a member of the military caste, instead of Ksetriyam (क्षेत्रियम्), an adulterer. Comp. Pischel p. 103 ll. 21-22.

Page 273 ll. 6-10. Sarn. Beware, lest the god-like sage, who would have bestowed on thee, as a free gift, his inestimable treasure, which thou hadst taken, like a base robber, should now cease to think of thee, who art lawfully married to his daughter, and should confine all his thoughts to her whom thy perfidy disgraces.

Correct. Śārng. Indeed, the sage who has approved of his daughter being dishonoured by you, and by whom you are made to appear like a robber turned into a worthy recipient, on account of his having asked your wicked self to accept his own property (i.e. his daughter), does not deserve to be insulted by you. (Pischel p. 103 ll. 13-17 stanza 137).

Note. When the object stolen is presented by its lawful owner, no more offence attaches to the thief.

Page 273 ll. 21-25. Dushm. (covering his ears). Be the crime removed from my soul ! Thou hast been instructed for some base purpose

to vilify me, and make me fall from the dignity which I have hitherto supported; as a river which has burst its banks and altered its placid current, overthrows the trees that had risen aloft on them.

Correct. Dushm. (covering his ears). Peace, peace.

You are trying to pollute your own family and also to degrade me, as a river undermining the banks does to its clear water and to the trees upon the banks. (Pischel p. 104 ll. 9-11 stanza 138).

Page 274 ll. 2-1 (from below).

Dushm. (Aside). The rusticity of her education makes her speak thus angrily and inconsistently with female decorum.

Correct. King (aside). But this lady's anger seems to be unfeigned owing to her having (always) lived in the forest. (Pischel p. 106 ll. 15-16).

Page 276 ll. 19-21. Sarn. Yet thou, O king, who fearest to offend religion and virtue, art not afraid to desert thy wedded wife; pretending that the variety of thy public affairs has made thee forget thy private contract.

Correct. Sārng. Oh king, if it be, on the

other hand, that you have forgotten what happened before on account of other preoccupations, then, apprehensive of sin as you are, how about this rejection of your (wedded) wife. (Pischel p. 110 ll. 7-8).

Page 282 l. 1 (from below)—p. 283 l. 6.

(And from that moment) he has abhorred the pleasures of life. No longer does he exert his respectable talents from day to day for the good of his people : he prolongs his nights without closing his eyes, perpetually rolling on the edge of his couch ; and when he rises, he pronounces not one sentence aptly ; mistaking the names of the women in his apartments, and through distraction calling each of them Sacontala : then he sits abashed, with his head long bent on his knee.

Correct. He abhors pleasures ; he is not waited upon by his ministers every day as before ; he passes the nights absolutely without any sleep by tossing about on the edges of his bed ; when, out of goodness, he gives the usual replies to the inmates of the harem, he makes mistakes in their names and remains long perplexed through shame. (Pischel p. 122 stanza 154).

Page 283 last line. Misrakesi(aside). The charming girl will at last be happy.

Correct. Miśrakesī(aside). Well, such is her destiny, poor thing ! (Pischel p. 123 l. 12 Prākrita).

Page 284 ll. 3-5. Chamberlain (approaching Dushmanta). May the king be victorious. Let him survey yon fine woodland, these cool walks, and this blooming garden.

Correct. Chamberlain (advancing). May the great king be victorious. The grounds of the pleasure garden have been examined. (Pischel p. 123 ll. 15-16).

Page 284 ll. 6-9. Dushm. (not attending to him). Warder, inform the chief minister in my name, that having resolved on a long absence from the city, I do not mean to sit for sometime in the tribunal ; but let him write and dispatch to me all the cases that may arise among my subjects.

Correct. King. Vetravatī, tell the minister Piśuna in my name that on account of long sleeplessness it was not possible for me to sit in the judgment-seat to-day. Whatever civic affairs may have been examined by his worship, let them all be committed to paper

and forwarded (to me). (Pischel p. 124 ll. 1-3).

Page 284 ll. 17-22. Dushm. O Madhavya, when persons accused of great offences prove wholly innocent, see how their accusers are punished !—A phrensy obstructed my remembrance of any former love for the daughter of the sage ; and now the heart-born god, who delights in giving pain, has fixed in his bow-string a new shaft pointed with the blossom of an Amra.

Correct. Dushm. (sighing). Friend, the saying that misfortunes rush in through loop-holes is invariably true. Behold,

oh friend, no sooner is this mind of mine freed from the darkness that obstructed the remembrance of my love for the daughter of the sage, than the shaft of a mango-blossom is fixed on his bow by the heart-born god ready to strike. (Pischel p. 124 ll. 9-14 stanza 157).

N. B. The heart-born god is (the god of) Love whose weapons are flowers. The mango-blossom is the chief flower of the spring and is said to cause feelings of love in the heart of men.

Page 285 ll. 20-21. Misrakesi (aside). The sovereigns of the world must not, I find, be left an instant without the objects of their love.

Correct. Miśrakesī (aside). This is why sympathetic friends ought not to be discarded by the rulers of the earth even for a moment. (Pischel p. 126 ll. 6-7 Prākrita).

Page 286 ll. 13-14. Misra. (aside). To reject Sacontala was, no doubt, the effect of a delirium, not the act of a waking man.

Correct. Miśrak. (aside). (His) forgetfulness indeed is to be wondered at, and not the recollection. (Pischel p. 127 l. 13 Prākrita).

Page 286 ll. 19-22. The king. Was it sleep that impaired my memory ? Was it delusion ? Was it an error of my judgment ? Or was it the destined reward of my bad actions ? Whatever it was, I am sensible that, until Sacontala return to these arms, I shall be plunged in the abyss of affliction.

Correct. King. Was it a dream ? Or an illusion of magic ? Or a mental delusion ? Or the reward determined only to that extent by my good deeds ? I quite look upon this as passed away never to return as a precipitate

fall of my hopes. (Pischel p. 128 ll. 4-7 stanza 160.)

Page 287 ll. 7-8. How long will the son of my lord keep me in his remembrance ?

Correct. After what lapse of time will my husband remember me ? (Pischel p. 129 l. 3).

Page 288 ll. 16-18. Madh. Truly, my friend, it is a picture sweet as love itself : my eye glides up and down to feast on every particle of it ; and it gives me as much delight as if I were actually conversing with the living Sacontala.

Correct. Madhavya (seeing). Oh friend, the picture is attractive by reason of the sentiment. My sight stumbles, as it were, upon the depressions and prominences. To be brief, it creates a curiosity in me for conversation on the impression that it is instinct with life. (Pischel p. 131 ll. 6-8 Prākrita).

Page 288 ll. 21-23. Dushm. Yet the picture is infinitely below the original ; and my warm fancy, by supplying its imperfections, represents in some degree the loveliness of my darling.

Correct. Dushm. Whatever is not beautifully (done) in this picture, all that is wrongly painted.

Nevertheless her loveliness is in some measure represented by the drawing. (Pischel p. 131 ll. 12-13 stanza 165).

Page 289 ll. 2-3. Misrakesi (aside). Her eyes, which fascinated the soul of his prince, never sparkled, I suppose, on Madhavya.

Correct. Miśrakeśī. She has never been within sight of this man whose eyes are liable to delusion. (Pischel p. 132 ll. 8-9 Prākrita).

Page 289 ll. 10-15. Dushm. You judge well ; but my affection requires something more in the piece. Besides, through some defect in the colouring, a tear seems trickling down her cheek, which ill suits the state in which I desired to see her painted.

Correct. King. You are clever. Here is a sign of my love-sentiment.

The painting appears soiled at the edges on account of the imprint of my perspiring fingers and a (drop of my) tear fallen on her cheek is discernible from the swelling of the paint. (Pischel p. 133 ll. 3-5 stanza 167).

N. B. Compare page 110 above.

Page 289 ll. 20-21 Misrakesi (aside). He desires, I presume, to add all those circumstances

which became the situation of his beloved in the hermitage.

Correct. Miśrakeśī. I think, he possibly desires to paint all those places which were the favourites of (my) dear friend. (Pischel p. 133 ll. 11-12 Prākrita).

Page 289 ll. 4-3 (from below). Madh. Add what you please ; but in my judgment, the vacant places should be filled with old hermits, bent, like me, toward the ground.

Correct. Madhavya (aside). I imagine from the way in which he deliberates that this picture-board would be filled by him with figures of hermits bending under the weight of beards. (Pischel p. 134 ll. 3-4 Prākrita).

N. B. Language quite appropriate in the mouth of "the fool".

Page 290 l. 17. Misra. (aside). A wild, but apt, address.

Correct. Miśrak. He is warned off in a courteous manner (satirical). (Pischel p. 135 l. 7 Prākrita).

Page 290 ll. 3-2 (from below).

Misra. (aside). Oh ! I perceive his mistake : it shews the perfection of the art. But why does he continue musing ?

Correct. Miśrak. (aside). Even I have but now realised the fact ; what to say of this person who actually feels as he thinks. (Pischel p. 136 ll. 3-4 Prākrita).

Page 291. ll 3-4 Misra. (aside). Such are the woes of a separated lover ! He is on all sides entangled in sorrow.

Correct. Miśrak. Oh, this course of destiny is inconsistent in its start and finish. (Pischel p. 136 l. 9 Prākrita).

Page 291 ll. 5-1 (from below).

Madhavya (aside). I wish you would conceal it yourself. (He takes the picture and rises). (Aloud) If, indeed, you will disentangle me from the net of your secret apartments, to which I am confined, and suffer me to dwell on the wall Meghach'handa which encircles them, I will hide the picture in a place where none shall see it but pigeons.

Correct. Madhavya. Why did you not say "yourself as well" ? (Taking the picture-board and rising up). If you are released from the snare of your inner apartments, then shout for me in the palace Meghachhanna (lit. covered with clouds) and I shall hide it (i.e. the picture) where

none but pigeons will see it. (Pischel p. 137 l. 12—p. 138 l. 3 Prākrita).

Page 292 ll. 10-12. Warder. The Chief minister sends this message : "I have carefully stated a case which has arisen in the city, and accurately committed it to writing : let the king deign to consider it."

Correct. Warder. Your Majesty, the minister reports. 'By reason of the multiplicity of the items of revenue only one case of the citizens has been examined by me. Let Your Majesty see the same (which is here) committed to paper.' (Pischel p. 138 ll. 10-11 Prākrita).

Page 293 ll. 3-7. Warder. The proclamation shall be made. (He goes out).

Re-enter warder.

O king ! the royal decree, which proves that your virtues are awake after a long slumber, was heard with bursts of applause.

Correct. Warder. It shall be so proclaimed. (Going out and then re-entering). Your Majesty, your command was hailed by the whole community like a timely shower of rain. (Pischel p. 139 ll. 14-15 Prākrita).

Page 293 ll. 12-13. Dushm. Woe is me !

I am stripped of all the felicity which I once enjoyed.

Correct. King. Fie on me—the despiser of the good luck that had come to hand. (Pischel p. 140 l. 5).

Page 299 l. 3. Matali. That case indeed is parallel.

Correct. Mātali. Such a (modest) remark is indeed worthy of you. (Pischel p. 149 l. 8).

Page 299 ll 12—16. Mātali. This is the way which leads along the triple river, heaven's brightest ornament, and causes yon luminaries to roll in a circle with diffused beams : it is the course of a gentle breeze which supports the floating forms of the gods ; and this path was the second step of Vishnu, when he confounded the proud Vali.

Correct. Mātali. This is the path of the wind Prabaha which is free from dust,—the path which was purified by the second stride of Hari and which bears along the three-coursed river (Ganges) located in heaven, and causes the luminaries to roll in a circle, keeping apart from each other the (aerial) strings (that bind them to the polar star). (Pischel p. 149 stanza 192)

N. B. This interpretation is after Raghavabhatta and seems to be preferable. It gives us a glimpse of Kalidasa's astronomy which was geocentric. The polar star (ध्रुव) was the pivot or axis of the whole planetary system, to which "all the celestial luminaries are bound by aerial cords, and are made to travel in their proper orbits, being kept in their places by their respective bands of air."

According to this theory there were seven strata of air between heaven and earth. The stratum of *Prabaha* was the second extending from the earth upwards. Comp. the seven crystal spheres and the primum mobile of the Ptolemaic system.

Here is a play upon the words रश्मि and रजस् which mean also the reins of a horse and that quality of the mind which darkens the spirit (रजोगुण) respectively. The Ganges is called a three-streamed river, because it was supposed to have one stream (मन्दाकिनी) in heaven, one (भागीरथी) on earth and a third (भोगवती) in Pātāla or the nether regions (not to be confounded with hell which was called Naraka). The Mandākinī is identified with the Milky Way (छायापथ) in Hindu astronomy.

Page 299 l. 28—p. 300 l. 2. Dushm. (looking down). Through the rapid, yet imperceptible, descent of the heavenly steeds, I now perceive the allotted station of men.—Astonishing prospect ! It is yet so distant from us, that the low lands appear confounded with the high mountain tops ; the trees erect their branchy shoulders, but seem leafless ; the rivers look like bright lines, but their waters vanish ; and at this instant, the globe of earth seems thrown upwards by some stupendous power.

Correct. King (looking downwards). Mātali, the world of men appears to be a wonderful spectacle by reason of the rapid descent.

The earth descends, as it were, from the summit of the upward-rising mountains ; the trees, from the elevation of their trunks, lose the state of their being concealed in their foliage ; the rivers that appeared thin and therefore waterless grow to fullness by (the increasing) visibility ;behold, the earth is being brought up to my side as if by someone hurling it upwards (Pischel p. 150 ll. 10-15. stanza 194).

N. B. Mātali is the charioteer of Indra, King of the gods. The picture is that of

a car descending towards the earth from the sky.

Page 300 ll. 18-19. Dushm. (with wonder). These chariot-wheels yield no sound ; no dust arises from them ; and the descent of the car gave me no shock.

Correct. King (with wonder). Mātali, the rims of the chariot-wheels caused no sound, and no dust is seen rising : by reason of its (i. e. the car's) not touching the surface of the ground, upward shock is absent. Your car, though descended, is not noticed as such. (Pischel p. 151 ll. 12-15 stanza 196).

Page 300 ll. 3-1 (from below). Matali. (checking the reins). Thus far, and enough. We now enter the sanctuary of him who rules the world, and the groves which are watered by streams from celestial sources.

Correct. Mātali (restraining the reins of the chariot). Here we two have entered the compound of the hermitage of the lord of the creation, where mandāra trees have been reared by Aditi. (Pischel p. 152 ll. 7-8).

Note. Aditi is the mother of the gods. Mandāra is one of the five ever-blooming trees of Indra's heaven.

Page 301 ll. 19-20. Mātali. What sayst thou ?—Is he conversing with the daughter of Daksha, who practises all the virtues of a dutiful wife, and is consulting him on moral questions ?

Correct. Mātali. What sayst thou ? Being questioned by Dakshāyanī on the merit of a wife devoted to her husband, he is relating it to her. (Pischel p. 153 ll. 5-6).

Note. Dakshāyanī is the other name of Aditi. She was the daughter of Daksha and was married to Kāśyapa.

Page 302 ll. 17-18. Dushm. (Aside, amazed). The child exhibits the rudiments of heroick valour, and looks like fire which blazes from the addition of dry fuel.

Correct. Dushm. (amazed). This child appears to me like a germ of mighty energy, like fire remaining in a state of spark from the loss of fuel. (Pischel p. **1**54 stanza 201).

Page 304 ll. 10-11. Dushm. I wonder, however, that this boy who moves like a god, could have been born of a mere mortal.

Correct. But how could this place be accessible to mortals through their own motion ? (Pischel p. 158 l. 1).

Page 305 l. 5. Boy : I shall like the

peacock if it can run and fly ; not else. (He takes it).

Correct. Boy. Antikā, this beautiful peacock pleases me. (With these words he takes the toy). (Pischel p. 159 l. 3 Prākrita).

Note. Antikā is the name of the maid-servant.

Page 306 ll. 9-8 (from below).

Sacontala (aloud). I shall be most happy when the king's anger has passed away.

Correct. Sakuntala (aside). I am pitied by fate that has given up its malice after having struck me. (Pischel p. 161 ll. 11-12 Prākrita).

Note. Jones's MS. seems to have read *devena* (lord, husband) instead of *devvena* (fate). (See Pischel p. 161 l. 24).

Page 306 ll. 5-4 (from below). (Of one) whose memory was obscured by the gloom of fascination.

Correct. Of one whose gloom of delusion has been dispelled by recollection. (Pischel p. 161 l. 13).

Page 307 ll. 12-14. Sacontala. Rise, my husband, oh ! rise.—My happiness has been long interrupted ; but joy now succeeds to affliction, since the son of my lord still loves me.

Correct. Sakuntala : Rise, oh my husband, rise. To be sure, something done by me previously, calculated to obstruct my happiness, matured in those days, as the result of which my husband, though kindly disposed towards me, became so (cruel). (Pischel p. 162 ll. 12-14 Prākrita).

Page 307 ll. 21-22. Sacontala. (wiping off her tears, and seeing the ring on his finger)—Ah ! is that the fatal ring ?

Correct. Sakuntala (seeing the ring on his finger after her tears had been wiped away by the king). My husband, this is that very ring. (Pischel p. 163 l. 6 Prākrita).

N.B. It is important to note that Sakuntala was absolutely sure about the identity of the ring.

Page 307 ll. 24-25. Sacontala. Its influence, indeed, has been great ; since it has brought back the lost confidence of my husband.

Correct. Sak. Verily such a thing was done by it that the means of convincing my husband became absolutely unavailable to me at the time. (Pischel p. 163 ll. 8-9 Prākrita).

Page 308 ll. 8-9. Sacontala. I really am ashamed even in thy presence to approach the deities.

Correct. Sak. I really feel ashamed to go before my elders in the company of my husband. (Pischel p. 164 l. 5 Prākrita).

N.B. In some parts of India there is a custom that a young wife may not visit her elders in the company of her husband. The use of the adverb "even" by Jones gives just the opposite meaning. This is due to ignorance of Indian customs.

Page 308 ll. 8-7 (from below). Dushm. Are those the grand-children of Brahma, to whom the self-existent gave birth in the beginning ?

Correct. Are those the pair in whom the supreme Being (i. e. Vishnu) even higher than the self-existent (i.e. Brahma) took up abode for birth ? (Pischel p. 165 l. 3 stanza 213 l. 3).

Page 309 ll. 4-6. Maricha : May thy husband be like Indra ! May thy son resemble Jayanta ! And mayst thou (whom no benediction could better suit) be equal in prosperity to the daughter of Puloman !

Correct. Mārīcha. Thy husband is like Indra ; thy son is like Jayanta ; no other benediction can suit thee, mayst thou be lucky like Paulomī. (Pischel p. 165 stanza 114).

N.B. The use of the optative by Jones does

not give the real sense. Indra is the chief of the gods and Jayanta his son by Paulomī, the daughter of Puloman.

Page 309 l. 7. Aditi. Preserve, my child, a constant unity with thy lord.

Correct. Aditi. My child, mayst thou be highly esteemed by thy husband. (Pischel p.165 l. 12 Prākrita)

Page 309 ll. 10-12. Cashyapa. (Looking at them by turns). Sacontala is the model of excellent wives ; her son is dutiful ; and thou, O king, hast three rare advantages, true piety, abundant wealth, and active virtue.

Correct. Mārīcha. (Pointing to them one by one) All hail ! the virtuous Sakuntala, this noble child, and yourself,—Piety, Fortune, Action : here is an assemblage of that (celebrated) trio. (Pischel p. 165 stanza 215).

Page 309 ll. 13-15. Dushm. O divine being, having obtained the former object of my most ardent wishes, I now have reached the summit of earthly happiness through thy favour, and thy benizon will ensure its permanence.

Correct. King. Oh Divine Being, first the fulfilment of (my) desire and afterwards thy sight!

Thus your favour is extraordinary indeed! (Pischel p. 166 ll. 1-2).

Page 309 ll. 18-19. Dushm. And thus, when thy indulgence preceded, felicity generally followed.

Correct. But in the case of your favour, prosperity precedes (viz. first the effect i. e. prosperity and then the cause i.e. your sight). (Pischel p. 166 l. 6 stanza 216 l. 4).

Page 310 ll. 5-4 (from below). Before he has passed the ocean of mortal life, he shall rule, unequalled in combat, this earth with seven peninsulas.

Correct. Having crossed the seas in a car with a steady motion from the absence of any opposition he, a matchless warrior, will ere long protect the earth with the seven islands. (Pischel p. 168 ll. 9-10, stanza 219 ll. 1-2).

Note. For jayati = conquers, Pischel reads avati = helps.

It now remains to notice one more instance, and the task of examining Jones's version is done. This is a case of a rather exceptional nature, and fortunately there is no other instance like this. One error seems to have led Jones into another, till a whole passage consisting of about

25 lines (Pischel p. 107 l. 5—p. 109 l. 1) is inaccurately rendered. Jones translates the above passage as follows (Page 275 ll. 4-27) :

Thus having failed in circumventing me by the apparent lustre of simplicity, she has recourse to wrath, and snaps in two the bow of Cāma, which, if she had not belonged to another, might have wounded me. (Aloud) The heart of Dushmanta, young woman, is known to all ; and thine is betrayed by thy present demeanor.

Sacontala (ironically). You kings are in all cases to be credited implicitly : you perfectly know the respect which is due to virtue and to mankind ; while females, however modest, however virtuous, know nothing, and speak nothing truly.—In a happy hour I came hither to seek the object of my affection: in a happy moment I received the hand of a prince descended from Puru ; a prince who had won my confidence by the honey of his words, whilst his heart concealed the weapon that was to pierce mine. (She hides her face and weeps).

Sarn. This insufferable mutability of the king's temper kindles my warth. Henceforth let all be circumspect before they form secret

connections: a friendship hastily contracted, when both hearts are not perfectly known, must ere long become enmity.

Dushm. Woudst thou force me then to commit an enormous crime, relying solely on her smooth speeches ?

Sarn. (scornfully). Thou hast heard an answer.—The words of an incomparable girl, who never learned what iniquity was, are here to receive no credit ; while they, whose learning consists in accusing others, and inquiring into crimes, are the only persons who speak truth !

Dushm. O man of unimpeached veracity, I certainly am what thou describest ; but what would be gained by accusing thy female associate ?

Sarn. Eternal misery.

Dushm. No ; misery will never be the portion of Puru's descendants.

The above extract may be literally translated as follows :—

Or finding me sceptical, her anger is perhaps pretended. Thus—

I having become dreadfully severe through loss of memory and disavowed the love that

had taken place in secret, the bow of Smara [1] has, as it were, been broken by her through the contraction of her curved eye-brows[2] in excessive wrath rendering her eyes awfully red.

(Aloud). Good lady, the deeds of Dushmanta are known among the people. And such a thing is not even to be thought of (lit. seen).

Sakuntala. Well, I have now become a prostitute,—I, who on account of my confidence in the race of Puru, had got into the hands of this honey-mouthed stone-hearted [3] man. (Hides her face with her skirt and weeps).

Sārng. This is how unbridled frivolity burns.

Hence union, specially in secret, ought to be made with circumspection. Friendship does thus turn into enmity between those whose hearts are not known (to each other).

King. O, why do you, merely through reliance on this lady's words, reproach us with accumulated sins ?

Sārng. (with indignation). Did you [4] hear the perversion of the truth ?

The statement of a person who from birth is innocent of deceit is nothing ; but those by whom the swindling of others is studied as

a science must indeed be (regarded as) trustworthy !

King. O truth-teller, all this is admitted by us. We are indeed so. But what is to be gained by deceiving this person ?

Sārng. Ruin.

King. That the Pauravas [5] should go to ruin is incredible.

Notes. (1) and (2) The brows of girls are in Indian poetry often compared to the bow of Smara (स्मर), the god of love.

(3) Instead of "stone-hearted" (हिअअपत्थरस्स) Jones's MS. seems to have read "with a weapon on the heart" (हिअअसत्थधारस्स). (Vide Pischel p. 108 l. 16).

(4) This is addressed to the public.

(5) The race of Puru to which Dushmanta belonged.

N. B. Sakuntala speaks Prākrita. There are reasons to suppose that Jones's MS. read the Prākrita speeches in this passage a little differently.

The above pages have sufficiently indicated the nature of Jones's translation. He has, on the whole, strictly adhered to the text. He has, however, made some additions and amplifications.

He has also made some omissions, probably on the ground of decency. But in the vast majority of cases, the deviations from the original seem to have been due to an imperfect understanding of the text ; and here again, the errors are more numerous in the translation of the Prākrita passages than in that of classical Sanskrit. And the reasons are quite clear. The Prākritas are in a Sanskrit drama different in the mouths of different dramatic personages according to their social standing. For instance, Sakuntala speaks Prākrita, because she is a woman, but her Prākrita is considered to be of a very refined form, while the fisherman in Act VI speaks the very worst kind of it. In other words, people had to speak the so-called good or bad Prākrita according to their particular social status. But Sanscrit proper never underwent any such changes. Secondly, the learned people in India cared mostly about classical Sanscrit which everybody understood, and did not learn the Prākritas with much interest and attention, so that the Prākritas have come down to us in a very bad condition ; and the *Chāyā*, or the Sanscrit translation of the Prākrita passages, which commentators have added to

the different editions of the text, is not very reliable. These are the facts which explain why Jones makes more mistakes in translating Prākrita passages than in translating classical Sanscrit.

A few, at any rate, of the errors may be classified into groups as follows : Errors arising from imperfect understanding of

(1) the play upon a word, vide *āśrama* p. 124 and *devī* p. 135.

(2) Indian customs and usages, vide pp. 129-30, p. 161.

(3) Satire and humour pp. 121, 125, 140, 151.

(4) Words nearly the same in spelling, but different in meaning, as in stanza 26 Pischel p. 22, where Jones seems to confound *vaikhānasa* वैखानस with *vikhānasa* विखानस ; see quotation on p. 122 (Jones p. 223 ll. 17-23).

(5) In some places the sense has materially suffered for want of sufficient care in the use of verbs ; as in p. 119 l. 4. (Sakuntala's speech), where the assertive should be interrogative ; in p. 160 l. 10 (Sakuntala's speech), where the

interrogative should be assertive; in p. 161 ll. 17-19 (Marīcha's speech) where the optative mood of the verb is wrong; in p. 121 ll. 9-10 the optative in Dushmanta's speech should be interrogative.

(6) Even the indifferent use of an adverb or a conjunction had its effect upon the sense; for instance, in p. 139 l. 25 "while" should be *more than*; in Jones p. 258 l. 10 (from below) the use of the adverb "yet" (which should be omitted) distinctly mars the sense of the whole stanza.

Monier Williams remarks in his prefaces to the editions of *Sakuntala* of 1853 and 1856, that Jones's translation "does not truly represent the original". In it "the bold and nervous phraseology of Kalidasa has been weakened, his delicate expression of refined love clothed in meretricious dress, and his ideas grand in their simplicity diluted by repetition and amplification." This charge is not wholly unfounded. There are certainly unhappy errors in Jones's version and not a few of them totally distort the picture. One has every reason to suppose that a more faithful translation would have secured a much greater appreciation for Kalidasa's play outside India.

But one cannot help thinking that some of the errors and inaccuracies at least must have been due to the badness of the MS. Jones had to use, for only corrupt MSS. seem to have been available at the time. Also the process of double translation, first into Latin and then into English, may have to some extent "diluted" the expressions. Jones had been hardly five years in India when he translated this book. He came to India without knowing a word of Sanscrit or of the vernacular of the Indian pandits. His official duties occupied most of his time and his leisure hours were often divided between social engagements and sickness. Besides, it is not known whether the language (whatever it was) in which he conversed with his Sanscrit teacher Ramlochan could be used with equal facility by both of them. Also there were no Sanscrit dictionaries at the time for the use of foreigners. When we remember all this, we cannot help wondering that the mistakes were not more numerous than they actually were. The causes of the errors in Jones's translation of *Sakuntala* are by no means difficult to explain. The errors, such as they were, were mostly the faults "of the time and circumstances

under which it was accomplished." Anyway they do not certainly take away much from its merit. Its importance has always been more historical than literary, and as such it will always remain a landmark in the history of Oriental studies as inaugurated by the West. And Jones together with Wilkins and Colebrooke formed the great trio who delved deep into the mine of Sanscrit literature and presented its treasures to the wondering peoples of the West.

THE END.

Appendix A.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following books were used among others.

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7. Richard Pischel : Sakuntala, Kiel, 1877.
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12. Martha P. Conant : The Oriental Tale in England in the 18th century, New York, 1908.
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14. H. H. Wilson : Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, London, 1835.

Appendix B.

(See page 91 above).

1. Sacontala, or the Fatal Ring, translated from the original Sanscrit and Pracrit by Sir William Jones, Calcutta, 1789, London, 1790 and 1792, Edinburgh, 1796.
2. Sacontala oder der entscheidende Ring, translated from the English of Jones by George Forster, Mainz and Leipzig, 1791.
3 Danish (from Jones) by H. West, Copenhagen, 1793.
4. French (from Jones) by A. Bruguière, Paris, 1803.
5. Dutch (from Forster) by E. M. Post, Haarlem, 1792.
6. Italian (from the French of A. Bruguière) by L. Doria, Darmstadt, 1815.
7. Swedish (from Jones and Forster) by I. E. Ekelund, Stockholm, 1821.

Appendix C.

A LIST OF SIR WILLIAM JONES'S WORKS BEARING UPON INDIA.

1. A Dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatic Words in Roman Letters.
2. On the Chronology of the Hindus.
3. A Supplement to the Essay on Indian Chronology.
4. On the Antiquity of the Indian Zodiak.
5. On the Literature of the Hindus from the Sanscrit.
6. The Lunar Year of the Hindus.
7. On the Musical Modes of the Hindus.
8. On the Mystical Poetry of the Persians and the Hindus.
9. Gita-Govinda or the Song of Jayadeva.
10. On the Indian Game of Chess.
11. On the Indian grant of Land, found at Tanna.
12. Inscriptions on the Staff of Firuz Shah.
13. On the Baya, or Indian Gross-beak.
14. The Design of a Treatise on the Plants of India.
15. On the Spikenard of the Ancients.
16. Additional remarks on the Spikenard of the Ancients.
17. A Catalogue of Indian Plants, comprehending their Sanscrit, and as many of their Linnaean names as could, with any degree of precision, be ascertained.
18. Botanical Observations on select Indian Plants.

19. Institutes of Hindu Law; or the Ordinances of Manu, according to the gloss of Calluca.
20. The Mahomedan Law of Succession to Property of the Intestates.
21. Al Sirajiyyah, or the Mahomedan Law of Inheritance.
22. Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations.
23. Hitopodesa of Vishnusarman.
24. An extract from the Bhushanda Ramayan.
25. Extracts from the Vedas.
26. On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India.